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SKETCHES
OF THE
CRUSADES.
—
G. E. SARGENT.



49. 1542.

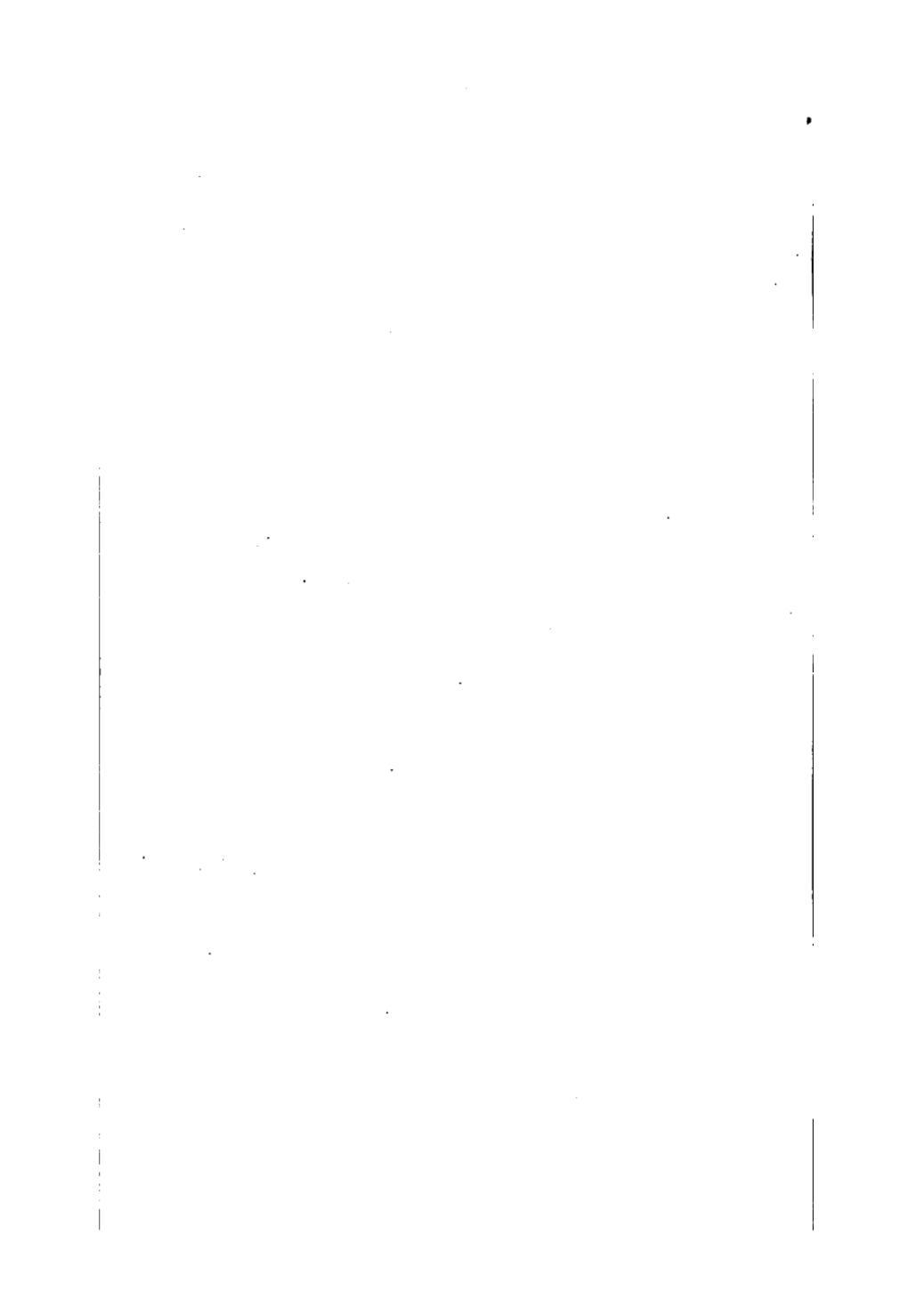




Sketches of the Crusades.



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SKETCHES
OF
THE CRUSADES.

BY



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PREFACE.

THE title of this volume is strictly indicative of its contents. My object has been to present, in a popular style, a series of sketches of some important transactions in the history of the Middle Ages, which, as elsewhere observed, stand apart, in motive and conduct, from the common history of nations; —and to present them so as to invite a comparison of those motives and actions with the doctrines and precepts of Divine Revelation. In addition to this, I have aimed at producing a work of comparatively small bulk, and at a price not beyond the reach of the many to whom this description of literature may bear an inviting aspect.

In pursuance of these designs, I have found it desirable to pass slightly over those merely con-

necting events which, in a full and complete *history* only, would require more elaborate consideration; and also, to leave almost untouched some collateral subjects, which such a history must, necessarily, have embodied. But what may be looked upon as lost in completeness, has probably been gained in simplicity and perspicuity; and—having omitted nothing that seemed essential to my plan—I trust that the following pages will convey to the reader a clear, correct, and vivid impression of the subject of which they treat.

GEO. E. SARGENT.

SKETCHES OF THE CRUSADES.

CHAPTER I.

Introductory.

"**L**ORD, shall we smite with the sword?"

THE history of the Crusades is not a history of mere warfare. The crusading spirit, itself, was one of the many forms in which depraved human nature has perverted the peaceable and lovely religion of the Bible, to serve its own selfish purposes. Important principles are involved in the consideration of the subject. Is the sword of destruction hallowed by being drawn in the cause of Christianity? May the blood of unbelievers lawfully be shed in efforts for its promulgation, or in revenge for its wrongs? Are the words of the Lord Jesus Christ to be taken in their most literal meaning, when he said, "My kingdom is not of this world. If my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight,"—or may they be modified, or entirely set aside, upon cause shown? Is the conflict to which the Christian is called, a spiritual conflict

only? Is his sword the sword of the Spirit, and that alone? Can any other aggressions be made upon the kingdom of "the god of this world," beyond that of the preaching of the Cross? These are questions which it would be well for every Christian to ponder in his heart.

The doctrines of Mahomet were enforced by the sword; and, at one time, with such success as to threaten (apparently) the utter subversion of Christianity. "Asia was swallowed up, as in a moment, by the deluge. The tempest broke with resistless force over the churches of Syria and Palestine. Having inundated Egypt, the cradle of false doctrines, it swept, without a pause, along the continent of Africa; laid in ruin its altars, long polluted by the schism of the Donatists, and the Vandal heresies; crossed impetuously these confines to overwhelm Arian Spain;"* and though turned back from Europe, north of the Pyrenees, by the valour of Charles Martel, it still chafed and raged within its bounds, and menaced western Europe with its overwhelming force. Under circumstances such as these, and admitting the threatening danger to have been imminent, was Christian † Europe justified in carrying the warfare into the strongholds of the enemy—in meeting infidelity with its own carnal weapons—in match-

* Forster's "Mahometanism Unveiled."

† It should be understood here, once for all, that the term "Christian" will be used conventionally, throughout these Sketches, when applied to the Crusaders.

ing wrong against wrong, extermination against extermination? We believe not. And while, in the proposed brief sketches of the Crusades of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, justice shall be done to the religious devotion and zeal of the more worthy among the Crusaders, it will be seen that the spirit which dictated these extraordinary movements, and the conduct by which they were characterised, sufficiently proclaim their unsanctified origin.

The history of Mahomet and Mahometanism does not belong to the design of the present sketches. It is needful only to say, that the era of the Crusades (A.D. 1090 to 1290) found Jerusalem in the possession of the Fatimite, or Egyptian Saracens,* after having, successively, during the space of 500 years, been ravaged by Roman, Persian, Grecian, Saracen, and Turkish conquerors. Meanwhile, the Jews, the chartered inhabitants of Palestine, were a scattered and wandering, a despised and persecuted people,

"Toss'd wildly o'er a thousand lands;"

Or who—

"—— Like pale ghosts that darkling roam,
Hovered around their ancient home,
But found no refuge there."

The same era witnessed the Grecian empire shorn of its brightest beams, in the loss of the

* *Saracen*, from *Saara*, a desert:—a name given to the inhabitants of Arabia; and applied especially to the Arabian followers of Mahomet, in contradistinction to the Turks.

fairest provinces of Asia Minor, which were overrun by the Seljukian Turks. The relative positions of the various parties— Saracen and Turk, Greek and Crusader—who figured in the wars of the Crusades, will be sufficiently elucidated as our sketches proceed.

CHAPTER II.

Pilgrimages and Pilgrims.

"A silly man, in simple weeds foreworne,
 And soiled with dust of the long dried way;
 His sandales were with toilsome travel torn,
 And face all tann'd with scorching sunny ray,
 As he had travailed many a sommer's day
 Through boyling sands of Arabie and Inde;
 And in his hand a Jacob's staffe, to stay
 His weary limbs upon; and eke behind
 His scrip did hang, in which his needments he did bind."

SPENCER.

THE early Christians had strong affection for Jerusalem. To visit the city in which their ascended Saviour had walked in the days of his humiliation ; to view the spot upon which he had suffered, and the tomb in the garden in which he had been laid, and from which he had triumphantly risen, were, with them, matters of earnest desire.

The same natural and pious feelings animated the Christians of succeeding times. True, Jerusalem had undergone many changes. The army of Titus had all but destroyed it. The glorious temple, in which "a greater than Solomon" had appeared, had been levelled with the ground, and a plough-share passed over its very foundations. The site of the city itself had been shifted. Its name had been changed from Jerusalem to *Aelia*. Heathen temples had been reared within its walls. Con-

tempt had been cast alike upon Jews and Christians by unbelieving Roman emperors. But the city and the land were hallowed by the tenderest and warmest sympathies of those who owned Christ as their Lord and Saviour ; and pilgrims from distant lands sought, amidst the ruins or intricacies of the ancient city, the place of the Cross and of the Tomb, that they, like Mary, might "weep there."

And when, in the beginning of the fourth century, a professed Christian—Constantine the Great—became emperor of Rome, and gave encouragement to the open avowal of faith in Christ, pilgrimages to Palestine became yet more frequent. Unhappily, superstition and error were too often very largely mixed up with appropriate veneration.

An illustrious pilgrim was the Empress Helena, the mother of Constantine. Having been converted to Christianity in her old age, she felt a longing wish to see the country rendered sacred by the memory of Him who "died and rose again." And this wish was quickened into action when she heard that the place of Christ's burial, which had long been a matter of doubt and dispute, had, as was supposed, been recently discovered beneath a temple dedicated to Venus. "Then Helen," — to use the words of Fuller, in his "Historie of the Holy Warre," — "(no less famous amongst the Christians for her pietie, than the ancient Helen amongst Pagans for her beauty,) travelled to Jerusalem. Zeal made her scarce sensible of her age,

being eighty years olde. There she purged Mount Calvary and Bethlehem of idolatry ; then built, in the place of Christ's birth and burial, and elsewhere in Palestine, many most stately and sumptuous churches. To her is ascribed the finding out of the Crosse, the memory whereof is celebrated the third of May."

That Helen was sincere in her devotion, we have no wish to doubt ; but that she was superstitious and credulous is equally plain. Almost equally certain is it that she was imposed upon by some who knew how to "make a gain of godliness." In causing the accumulated rubbish to be removed, which covered what was said to be the place of crucifixion, some pieces of wood were found, and pronounced to be portions of the cross upon which the Redeemer expired. These were preserved, and a church was reared over the spot upon which they were found. Thenceforth, the search for relics was reckoned a pious duty ; and the reverence with which they were regarded amounted to idolatry. The wealthy pilgrim would have taken shame to himself if he had returned from the Holy Land without purchasing, at a high rate, some valuable relics wherewith to enrich the churches of his country : and no pilgrim was so poor as to be unable to procure the rag of a vesture, or an undecayed bone—the pretended remains of some saint long departed—by means of which to enrich himself. The sale, and the manufacture of relics, became a profitable trade, followed unscrupulously

by many, until, at length, whole shiploads of them were imported into Europe. As to the pretended cross, so greatly were chips of it in demand, and to such an extent was this demand met, that it was said the fragments, if collected, would have been found sufficient for the building of a ship or a church. But this was reckoned a trifling objection; “for,” so said the priests who kept it, “a vital principle pervaded its substance, and though divided and sub-divided daily, it yet remained uninjured and entire.”

The conquest of Jerusalem by the Saracens, (A.D. 636,) by no means put an end to the pilgrimages; nor did the conquerors desire their discontinuance. Next to Mahometanism they deemed Christianity the purest form of faith, (though at an almost infinite distance below it,) and Jerusalem they regarded as a holy city. Besides, the pilgrimages of Christians to the sepulchre of Christ could be made a source of profit. Nevertheless, the state of the pilgrims, as well as of the residents in Palestine, was one of uncertainty,—now sunshine, now storm. They were often subject to oppression; perpetually urged to embrace Islamism, as the faith of Mahomet was called; and compelled to pay tribute, as the price of their safety as Christians. Their dress, their habitations, and their equipages, were prescribed by law. They were restricted from building places of Christian worship; those already existing were held on an uncertain tenure; while a magnificent mosque was erected by

the conqueror, on what was said to be the site of the temple of Solomon.

But other times approached, in which this already melancholy condition was deepened into darker gloom. Within a few years of the taking of Jerusalem by the Saracens, dissensions began to prevail among the conquerors. Omar, the caliph, was murdered; so was his successor, Othman—each having held government twelve years. The next caliph was Ali, the cousin of Mahomet, and the husband of Fatima, Mahomet's daughter. But an opposition was raised against him, and another was set up by the adverse party. From this time there were two races of caliphs, known as the Fatimite and Abbasside,* each esteeming the other as heretics and foemen.

These dissensions unfavourably affected the peace of Jerusalem, which, for some time, was held by the Fatimites. But more precarious and more miserable still, was the condition of the Christians in Palestine, when the Turks, a strange and fierce people, from the mountains in the innermost regions of Asia, were called in to the assistance of the Abbasside caliphs. By them, Jerusalem was once and again taken; and unrelenting cruelty was exercised upon the wretched inhabitants. Now, indeed, might it be said, the holy place was "trodden under foot by the Gentiles." Recently converted to Islamism, uninfluenced by any lingering respect for Christianity, and full fraught with the bar-

* The Fatimite caliph reigned at Cairo; the Abbasside, at Bagdad.

barism of their native origin, the Turks were tyrants above all who had preceded them. Thus, between the contending influences of caliph against caliph, Turk against Saracen, and all against Christianity, the Christians of Jerusalem and Palestine "had" (thus writes Fuller) "no lease of their safetie, but were tenants at will, for their lives and goods, to these tyrants. Though it rained not down-right, yet the storm of persecution hung over their heads, and their minds were ever in torture, being on the rack of continual fear and suspense."

Nevertheless, the rage for pilgrimages increased; the more, perhaps, that the hardships to be endured were severe. The sufferings of pilgrimages were reckoned meritorious and expiatory. Men stained with guilt were directed, by way of penance, to set their faces towards Jerusalem; and to those who desired the character of eminent piety, no readier way was known for its attainment than to become pilgrims. Hospitals, or resting places for pilgrims on the road to Jerusalem, were established and maintained by the rich and charitable; and protection was furnished by Christian powers, so far as that protection could be made available. But, in spite of these precautions and helps, many were the instances in which solitary wanderers became the prey of midnight marauders: many, in which the weary pilgrim sank in death, unregarded and unpitied, the prey of disease and want; and many, in which an unhappy wretch was thrust back from the very threshold of his hopes and desires, by the

stern guardians of the city gates, as being too poor to pay the piece of gold demanded for admission.

The usual garb of a pilgrim is described in the motto prefixed to this chapter. A scrip and a staff, a loose frock of coarse woollen, and a girdle,—these were the unfailing marks by which the outward-bound pilgrim was known. And when in the hand of such a one was seen the withered branch of a palm tree, certain was it that he had offered up his prayers in the Holy City, and plucked the palm branch,* in token of joy and triumph, from the garden of Abraham.

In the eleventh century a fresh impetus was given to the system of pilgrimages. It was now believed that the thousand years, mentioned by John in the Revelations, were drawing to a close ; that the end of time was at hand ; and that Christ was about to call men to judgment in the valley of Jehoshaphat. Thither thousands crowded, in hope of meeting Him who was to pronounce their final doom, and vainly trusting that their good deeds, voluntary penances, and self-sacrifices, would ensure the favourable sentence, “ Well done, good and faithful servant ; enter into the joy of thy Lord.”

One narrative of a pilgrimage in this century, related by the historian Ingulph, who himself accompanied it, may close this chapter. The number of pilgrims was seven thousand, the majority of whom were Germans. An archbishop and three bishops were among the number. They passed

* For this reason, the pilgrims to the Holy Land were called *Palmers*.

through Europe without molestation, and proceeded unharmed through the Greek empire ; but, passing into Asia, their troubles began. Arab robbers fell upon them, taking money and life without remorse, and harassing the devoted band on all hands. At length the pilgrims,—or such as remained,—reached Jerusalem, where they were met and welcomed by the Patriarch and Christians of the city. A sad and solemn procession to the Sepulchre was made amidst the clang of cymbals and the glare of torches. Their devotions at the tomb were marked by fervency. "Jesus Christ alone knew," said one of them, "the number of prayers which they offered, the tears they shed, the sighs they breathed." They viewed the city with grief and astonishment at the desecration they beheld, of things in their esteem most holy. Wishfully did they look towards the hills which divided them from the river Jordan, longing, but not venturing to approach and bathe in its sacred stream. At length they returned, an impoverished and diminished band. Of more than thirty Norman horsemen who had accompanied the narrator of the pilgrimage, scarcely twenty remained; and they returned to their homes on foot, weary, ill, and penniless.

It were doing wrong to pilgrims such as these, to deny that they were influenced by devotional feelings. They lived in an age of general corruption, ignorance, and superstition. They had a zeal for God ; but—we are constrained to add—"not according to knowledge." It was bodily exercise,

which profited little. It becomes us to guard against the like spirit, remembering the words of the Lord Jesus Christ,—“The hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth ; for the Father seeketh such to worship him. God is a spirit, and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth.”

It is but justice to mention, that some in the Christian church, in those days of pilgrimages, saw clearly the uselessness and the danger to morality and piety of these acts of devotion. In the fourth century, Gregory, bishop of Nice, endeavoured to dissuade his flock from such journeys, for reasons most sound and, we should think, most convincing. And, after him, Jerome describes the depravity which existed in Jerusalem, and commends a monk who, though resident in Palestine, had but on one occasion entered the city.

CHAPTER III.

Peter the Hermit.

[1093 to 1095.]

“ ‘God willeth it,’ the whole assembly cry;
 Shout which the enraptured multitude astounds!
 The council roof, and Clermont’s towers reply,
 ‘God willeth it’ from hill to hill rebounds,
 And in new-stricken countries far and nigh,
 Through nature’s hollow arch that voice resounds.”

WORDSWORTH.

IN the year 1093 a traveller drew near to the gates of Jerusalem. His dress proclaimed him to be a pilgrim, and the pilgrim’s tax was demanded and paid ere he entered within the walls of the city. Small and emaciated in person, as well as mean in apparel, the solitary and weary man might have been passed by as too insignificant for further notice than a contemptuous glance. But, in contrast with every token of depression, a fire gleamed from his eyes, which, if it indicated some slight disturbance of intellect, told also of deep and unquenched enthusiasm. Passing through the streets of the degraded city, the wanderer sought and found welcome in the house of a Christian, to whom he made himself known as Peter of Amiens, —a soldier once, a hermit next, and now a pilgrim.

During the sojourn of this pilgrim in Jerusalem,

he witnessed those evils in social operation, the report of which had reached even to his solitary cell. Indignation and grief filled his mind. He mingled his sighs and tears with those of his oppressed brethren, while he made known his firm determination to give himself no rest until he had achieved their deliverance. The sympathy of Peter obtained for him a more than usual degree of attention from the resident Christians of Jerusalem. He sought and obtained an interview with the Patriarch Simeon,—a venerable man, who had had bitter experience of the barbarities inflicted upon the professed followers of Christ, by their proud masters the Turks. Probably, the fame of Peter the Hermit had preceded him in the Holy City, and paved the way for his favourable reception, although little is now known of his previous history. He sprang, it is said, from a family of distinction. In his youth he had fought under the banners of the Count of Bouillon, and married into a noble family; but, dissatisfied both with his profession and his wife, he withdrew into a convent, and from the convent passed to the greater solitude of a hermitage. Here, by fastings and severe penances, he sought to atone for the irregularities of his past life; and so great were his self-mortifications that he obtained the reputation of a saint. In his hermitage he had heard of the sufferings of the church in Jerusalem, and of the perils of pilgrimage, and fancied himself called upon, in dreams and visions, to redress such flagrant wrongs;

and now we find him at Jerusalem, and in the Patriarch's presence.

"But can nothing be done?" was the Hermit's reiterated question, when the Patriarch bemoaned the sad state of his religious community; "can nothing be done to soften—to terminate these woes? The Greeks—"

"Alas! and what hopes from the Greeks?" replied the Patriarch. "Was not Jerusalem torn from the Greeks when they had it in possession? For the sins of that nation one-half of the empire has, in a few years, been irrecoverably lost to them, and the other half is trembling in insecurity. The Bosphorus alone, and that but for a time, secures Constantinople itself from the grasp of the victorious Turks. It is not to the Greeks, but to the Latins, and to the great nations of Europe farther west, that we can look with hope of succour."

"Then to them we will turn. Write," said the Hermit, "to the Pope and the Romish church, and to all the Latin Christians, and affix to your letter the seal of your office. As a penance for my sins I will travel over Europe. I will describe to princes and to people the degraded state of the church, and will urge them to repair it."

The conference ended; but a chord had been struck which ceased not to vibrate until the sandy plains and mountainous passes of Asia were scattered with European corpses and drenched in blood.

While waiting for the promised credentials, Peter visited again and again the holiest of all the

holy places in Jerusalem—the Church of the Sepulchre, where he prayed long and earnestly for faith, resolution, and strength to carry out his enterprise. On the very eve of his return the Hermit had a dream, in which, according to his excited imagination, the Redeemer appeared to him, and encouraged him to proceed boldly in the work he had begun,—promising Divine assistance, because the time—the set time—to favour Zion was come. Thus animated, Peter bade a cheerful adieu to Jerusalem, full of expectation of a speedy and triumphant return.

Before proceeding with the history of Peter the Hermit, the state of Europe at the close of the eleventh century demands a few words. By the Greek empire, of which mention has been made, we must understand that portion of the old Roman empire which remained after the loss of its fairest European provinces. Its seat of government was at Constantinople, and its ruler was the Emperor Alexius. This empire was now tottering to its final dissolution. Of all its once wide-spread dependencies in the East, some few unimportant vestiges alone remained, while Constantinople itself was threatened by the Turks, who were almost sole masters of Lesser Asia.

Italy had long been lost to the old Roman empire, and was, at this time, the scene of contest between the Emperor of Germany and Pope Urban II. For centuries, the temporal power of the Popes had gradually increased; and very re-

cently had been established in spite of the resistance offered by the Emperor. In pursuing his claims to worldly government, the predecessor of Urban—Gregory VII—had suffered many reverses, and finally died in exile; and it yet remained to be proved whether the Imperial or the Papal power would eventually triumph.

The empire of Germany was extensive and powerful, inhabited by descendants of Gothic race, and comprehending a large extent of dominion in central Europe.

France was governed by Philip I.; and Normandy by Robert, son of William the Conqueror; while England was yet suffering the infliction of Norman rule, and hopeless of deliverance.

Throughout the whole of the countries just mentioned—the Grecian empire excepted—the feudal system was in full vigour. Petty sovereignties, out of all count, were connected with the larger monarchies. The princes at the head of these sovereignties acknowledged allegiance to their feudal superiors, and yielded obedience and military aid, more or less willingly, according to circumstances. The advantages of this system, to the emperors and kings who claimed feudal homage, were counterbalanced by many inconveniences. Not unfrequently the safety of a kingdom was threatened by the contumacy of a too powerful feudal duke, count, or baron. It is almost needless to add that, under a system such as this, the people enjoyed but a small portion of liberty. Among all the European coun-

tries, none were so far advanced in freedom, and so unfettered and adventurous in commerce, as the states of Italy.

Thus far we have glanced at the political condition of some parts of Europe at the commencement of the Crusades; but our survey would be too imperfect were we not also to look at its religious character. A few words will suffice.

The Greek and Romish, or Latin, churches had long been at variance. Difference of opinion in doctrine, as well as different forms of worship, had alienated one part of the professed Christian church from the other, until each esteemed each as little better than heretic. Unhappily, while thus contending, both Greek and Latin were fearfully degenerated from "the simplicity which is in Christ." There was much of a form, but little of the power of godliness. Ceremonies usurped the place of true and spiritual worship, and penances were enjoined by the spiritual guides of either community, instead of that godly sorrow for sin which worketh repentance.

The Greek church was governed by a patriarch, who resided at Constantinople. Nominally, at least, the Christian churches of Asia were under his jurisdiction, and patriarchs of an inferior order were subject to his ecclesiastical government. There was, as we have already seen, a patriarch of Jerusalem. It was an object of ambition with the Roman Pontiff to extend the limits of the Latin church in Asia.

But the Latin church in Europe was now troubled with internal dissensions. The struggles of the Pope for temporal dominion had enraged the German emperor, and induced him to set up a rival; so that, in fact, there were two Popes in Europe at the time of the first Crusade. Added to this, disputes of a serious character existed between Pope Urban and Philip of France; and, to bring this digression to a close, when Peter the Hermit returned from his pilgrimage, it was to find the main stay of his hopes, Urban II., almost a banished man; protected from the fury of his adversary Henry, by Bohemond, prince of Tarentum, in Lower Italy, in whose dominions he had taken refuge.

Peter had strong faith in the importance of his mission. Undismayed, therefore, by the apparent obstacles in the way of success, he hastened to Apulia, the retreat of Urban, and laid his credentials before the Pontiff. Urban listened with attention. As the Hermit, warmed with his subject, eloquently and pathetically described the wrongs of their fellow Christians in Palestine, the Pope was moved to tears. But when the scheme was unfolded, by which the enthusiast proposed to accomplish the deliverance of the Holy Land from the strong hand of oppression, Urban paused, required time for consideration, and adjourned the conference.

But the subject was not dismissed from Urban's mind. It is doing no injustice to his character to

suppose that he contemplated, in the successful issue of a plan such as Peter's, results most advantageous to the Romish church, and to *himself*, as its head. Once before, he well knew, a similar expedition, projected by Pope Gregory, had failed; but the failure might be attributed to want of energy or good opportunity. But if the sovereigns of Europe could now be roused to a sense of the importance of this scheme, what healings of breaches—what consolidation of Papal influence—what extension of Papal government—might not be expected? Such considerations as these, joined, perhaps, with nobler sentiments of sympathy with the oppressed, urged Urban to proceed.

Before committing himself to the project of the Hermit, Urban sought the advice of his protector Bohemond. Here he met a ready response. The military zeal of the age required but a small spark to kindle it in any cause; and the idea of couching lance against the enemies of the church was a very promising one. There might be other inducements to quicken the willingness of Bohemond. Craft and selfishness mingled largely with his devotion to the interests of the church. The Emperor Alexius had dispossessed him of certain territories which his father had wrested by force from the Grecian empire. In the chances of a crusade might not these possessions be recovered? It was worth a trial, thought Bohemond.

Urban no longer hesitated. Availing himself of the energy and eloquence of the Hermit, he fur-

nished him with letters to the Christian powers of Europe, and forwarded him on the mission to which he had, at the Sepulchre, devoted himself, and for the accomplishment of which he panted.

Clad in a coarse woollen shirt and a hermit's mantle, his arms and feet bare, and mounted on a mule, Peter set out on his way. He travelled through Italy—through France,—and, during the whole of his course, excited so astonishing a degree of attention as might have unsettled an intellect originally stronger than his own. Mean as was his personal appearance, he penetrated into the courts of princes, and the mighty ones of the earth listened with respect and reverence to the outpourings of his vehement zeal. But not to princes alone was his mission disclosed. He proclaimed it to the multitude, and the multitude hailed him as a messenger sent from God. His denunciations of the Turks, his exhortations to fight the battles of the Lord, were met by corresponding feelings in the minds of the auditory. Nor were the calls to repentance and reformation, with which he interspersed his most martial harangues, resented or unheeded. “We saw him,” is the testimony of an eye-witness—Gilbert of Nogent—“at that time passing through the towns and villages, and preaching everywhere, while the people surrounded him in crowds, loaded him with presents, and celebrated his sanctity with such loud acclamations, that I never remember to have beheld similar honours paid to any one. He showed great generosity in

the distribution of the things given to him. He brought back to their homes women who had left their husbands, and, with great authority, restored peace and concord where there was discord. In everything that he said or did, there seemed something divine, so that the people took even the hairs of his mule to keep as relics."

The public mind being thus prepared by this singular man, the time was come for the Pope openly to take *his* part in the proceedings. A preliminary congress was held at Placentia, in March, 1095, which was attended by four thousand clergy, and thirty thousand laymen, from different nations. At this meeting, legates from the Grecian emperor were admitted to plead the cause of their master and their country. They represented the danger to Europe, arising from the near vicinity and the boundless rapacity of the Turks, and implored, in the name of Alexius, the assistance of western Europe, that he might drive back his enemies, and recover, if possible, the fair provinces in Asia which had been severed from the Grecian empire.

But the grand demonstration of public opinion took place at Clermont, in France. Here a general council was called by Urban; for, though at enmity with Philip of France—so much so that the king was actually under the ban of excommunication—the Pope trusted to the popularity of the cause, and the protection of the powerful lords of Aquitain and Auvergne, of which latter province Cler-

mont was the capital. Nor was this confidence misplaced.

The council, or congress, of Clermont was prolonged from the 18th to the 28th of November, 1095. The first seven days were occupied in matters of local and temporary interest. During this time, day after day, and hour after hour, fresh arrivals were taking place. Ecclesiastics of every rank, laymen of every class, inhabitants of almost every European country, flocked together, by thousands and tens of thousands. It was soon perceived that no building could contain so vast an assemblage, and the council adjourned for deliberation to the great square of the city. For shelter and rest, tents were erected around the city; and the neighbouring country was laid under contribution for the support of the multitude.

The eighth day arrived, and, all other matters dismissed, the great subject was brought forward. The Pope ascended the pulpit, or stage, and addressed the expectant and anxious assembly.

After referring to the past proceedings of the council, and reminding his hearers of the heinous and notorious sins of Christendom, Urban skilfully brought his reproofs to bear upon the object of his wishes. "To you," said he, "now suffering the perilous shipwreck of sin, a secure haven of rest is offered, unless you neglect it. A station of perpetual safety will be awarded you for the exertion of a trifling labour against the Turks. Compare, now, the labours which you undertook in the practice

of wickedness, and those which you will encounter in the undertaking I advise. The intention of committing adultery and murder begets many fears,—for, as Solomon says, ‘There is nothing more timid than guilt,’—many labours, for what is more toilsome than wickedness? But he who walks uprightly walks securely. Of these labours, of these fears, the end was sin; the wages of sin is death, and the death of sinners is most dreadful. Now, the same labours and apprehensions are required from you for a better consideration. The cause of these labours will be charity. If, thus warned by the commands of God, you lay down your lives for the brethren, the wages of charity will be the grace of God; the grace of God is followed by eternal life. Go then, prosperously; go, then, with confidence, to attack the enemies of God.” He then enlarged upon the mischiefs wrought by the Saracens and Turks; the conquests they had made in the East; and the miseries inflicted by them on the brethren in Palestine. He reminded the auditory that the holy places of Jerusalem, even to the Sepulchre of the Redeemer, were usurped by the unbelievers; and intimated that Christian Europe itself was insecure. “Even this small portion of the world belonging to us the Turks and Saracens oppress. Thus, for three hundred years, Spain and the Balearic Isles being subjected to them, the possession of the remainder is eagerly anticipated by feeble men.” And then Urban proceeded, craftily enough, to show that these conquerors of the world were

infants in strength, and cowards in fight, compared with the lusty warriors of the west; attributing to fortune and to treachery, rather than to strength and courage, the success which had hitherto attended them. He glanced at their physical structure, and held it up to scorn, while, on the other hand, he applauded highly the superiority in blood and muscle of those who surrounded him. "You are a nation born in the more temperate regions of the world, who may be prodigal of blood, in defiance of death and wounds. You equally preserve good conduct in camp, and are considerate in battle. Thus endued with skill and valour, you undertake a memorable expedition. You will be extolled throughout all ages if you rescue your brethren from danger." From representations such as these the Pope passed to entreaties, and to the exercise of his spiritual authority. "To those present, in God's name, I command this; to the absent, I enjoin it. Let such as are going to fight for Christianity, put the form of the cross upon their garments, that they may outwardly demonstrate the love arising from their inward faith; enjoying, by the gift of God, and the privileges of Saint Peter, *absolution from all their crimes*. Let this soothe the labours of their journey, satisfied that they shall obtain, after death, the advantages of a blessed martyrdom. Putting an end to your crimes, then, that Christians may, at least, live peaceably in those countries, go and employ, in nobler warfare, that valour and that sagacity which you used to

waste in civil broils. Go, soldiers, everywhere renowned in fame ; go, and subdue those dastardly nations."

Before the stirring address was concluded, the minds of the hearers were worked up to the highest pitch of excitement ; and when the Pope approached its peroration, wild and clamorous cries drowned his sonorous and commanding voice. "It is the will of God ! God wills it ! God wills it ! It is the will of God !" was shouted from every quarter of the vast assembly.

"It is indeed the will of God," said Urban, as soon as silence was restored ; "God indeed wills it. Dearest brethren, to-day is verified the scriptural promise, that 'Where two or three are gathered together in the name of Christ, he will be with them.' The power of God alone can have caused this unanimity of sentiment. Let the very words which he has dictated, be your cry of war. When you attack the enemy, let the words resound from every side.

"The old, the infirm, the weaker sex, must remain in Europe. They would be an impediment rather than an assistance. In the holy undertaking the rich should succour their poorer brethren, and equip them for war. The clergy must not depart without the licence of their bishops ; for, if they should, their journey will be fruitless. The people must not go without a sacerdotal benediction. Let every one mark, on his breast or back, the sign of our Lord's cross, in order that the saying may be

fulfilled, ‘He who takes up his cross and follows me, is worthy of me.’”*

Renewed shoutings, mingled with tears, were the answers of the multitude, while, with one consent, they knelt to receive the promised benediction. In the name of the whole assembly, the Cardinal Gregory, who was present, made a confession of sin ; and the Pope stretched forth his hands, absolving and blessing them.

Then commenced the practical business of the day,—the enlistment, as it may well be termed. The first person who solicited the badge of soldiership was Adhemar, bishop of Puy ; and a cross, cut out of red cloth, was immediately fixed to his right shoulder. This example was speedily followed by others, who thus pledged themselves to fight the battles of the church.

It is impossible to trace, thus far, the history of this extraordinary movement, without perceiving that the elements of human infirmity were very largely, and very subtilly, mingled with some better and more generous principles. It has already been shown, that interested motives were likely to have had a share in urging the Pope and Bohemond so readily to promote the plan of a crusade. And it is instructive to mark how motives equally interested were held out to the people. Absolution ! Eternal blessedness ! The sufferings of the body for the sin of the soul ! To escape the dreadful consequences of

* Hence were universally adopted the terms Crusade (*Croisade*), and Crusader (*Crusé*), or the Crossed.

guilt, by a warfare to which, moreover, was attached much of the promise of the world that now is, as well as of that which is to come! The inducement was mighty, and the perils were lost sight of.

Nevertheless, it were hard to deny to the Crusaders that, moved by sincere though mistaken piety, some of them desired to visit the Holy Land—to expel thence the intruders, who had defiled the place of their Saviour's birth, and sufferings, and triumph—to extend the bounds of his earthly kingdom, and the interests of his church. To accomplish this, what mattered it that oceans of blood must be shed and deeds of rapine and robbery consummated? Theirs was an age—and this ought not to be overlooked—in which human blood and sufferings were held cheap; and, to sum up the whole, “It was the will of God!”

CHAPTER IV.

First Crusading Operations.

[1096.]

"What hast thou to do, to declare my statutes, or that thou shouldest take my covenant in thy mouth?"

IT is time to return to Peter the Hermit, of whom we have lost sight, under the mighty shadow of the spiritual prince of Rome. Leaving, therefore, the great square of Clermont, and forbearing, for the present, to enumerate the sovereigns and nobles who gave in their adhesion to the Crusade, we pass onward to the spring of the year 1096. During the interval that had elapsed, the cause of the Crusade had advanced with accelerated power. Men of all ranks and degrees had assumed the cross, and were impatient to set out on the holy warfare. Property had been sacrificed to procure arms and money; family ties had been violently dissevered; the common affairs of life had been neglected; and even those—they were comparatively few—who at first were inclined to pour ridicule upon the scheme, had become converts to the prevailing enthusiasm. In many instances, the wise recommendation of Urban had been disregarded; for women and children, with aged and impotent men, pressed forward from all parts of Europe to the place of rendezvous. "It was both

astonishing and laughable," says Gilbert of Nogent, —but surely more sorrowful than ludicrous,—“to see the poor shoeing their oxen, as we shoe horses, and harnessing them to two-wheeled carts, in which they placed their scanty provisions and their young children, and proceeded onward, while the babes, at each town or castle they saw, demanded eagerly whether that was Jerusalem ? ”

It was soon perceived, by the military chiefs of the Crusade, that such a mass of incongruous materials would defeat the object for which they had gathered together; multitudes were accordingly rejected. These flocked to the Hermit, in Lorraine, with many others who deemed *him* to be the fittest leader who had been the originator of the enterprise, and with many also who were impatient of the delay caused by the prudent preparations of the more warlike leaders.

No such delay attended the movements of the Hermit. Burning for the conquest which he sincerely believed awaited him, and eager, probably, to reap the first fruits of victory, he made instant preparations for the journey. Common prudence, however, dictated, even to Peter, the necessity of some degree of order. He, therefore, divided his army—if *army* it may be called—into separate bands.

The first division was led by a man of good family from Burgundy, who, from his poverty—a poverty, probably, the result of former licentious courses—was named Walter *Sansavoir*, or the Penni-

less. He had not been undistinguished in military affairs, and was, so far, fitted for the post he undertook. But he had to do with an unruly multitude, and misfortune pressed closely upon his heels. The number comprised in this division amounted to upwards of 20,000, of whom eight individuals alone aspired to the dignity of cavalry.

The route of these troops lay through Austrian Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria, and the Grecian empire to Constantinople, a dreary course of hundreds of miles, intersected by rivers, and spread over with forests and morasses. But the difficulties of the way were little thought of, for every step was to convey the sanguine hosts nearer to the land of promise and the Holy City.

The passage of these infatuated people through Hungary was comparatively smooth, for Christianity had been for two centuries the established religion of the country, and Carloman, the Hungarian king, sympathised in the object of the Crusaders. In Bulgaria, a province of the Grecian empire, their severe troubles commenced. Weary and hungry, the Crusaders sought, but sought in vain, for assistance, until, urged on by the irresistible cravings of nature, they attacked the unfriendly town of Belgrade. The cry of war was raised. The country rose in arms against the miserable invaders, routed them, and put them to the sword. Hundreds, as a last resource, fled to a church (for Bulgaria was nominally Christian), trusting that the sanctity of the building would secure their lives. Miserably de-

ceived were they! Blood must not desecrate the temple of the Prince of Peace, but *fire* may do the work. It is done; torches are applied; the flames extend, mount upwards, envelope the building. In the agonies of despair the shrieking refugees frantically ascend the tower, climb the roof, and leaping thence to avoid the scorching, suffocating atmosphere, are killed by the fall; while others, more resignedly, await the progress of the flames, and by the flames are consumed.

With a few associates, Walter escaped fire and sword, and wandered through the woods and wilds of Bulgaria, to the residence of the prince of the country. Here he told his mournful tale, was pitied and relieved, and furnished with guides to Constantinople. Arriving at the capital of the Grecian empire,—a wretched remnant of the once hopeful and numerous band,—the fugitives were protected by Alexius, who assigned them quarters without the city walls. Here we leave them, while we trace the progress of the second division, under the leadership of the Hermit himself.

Following in the route of Walter the Penniless, at the head of a mob—for *army* it could not be called—of 40,000 men, women, and children, and destitute of all necessary qualifications for generalship, the enthusiastic Hermit soon found that it is easier to rouse the strong passions of the multitude, than to guide those passions when roused. Protected by Carloman, as Walter and his band had been, the progress of this great company through

Hungary was unimpeded, until the southern frontier was attained. Here an event, or rather a series of events, sufficiently proved what manner of spirit they were of.

It had happened, in the course of Walter's march through Hungary, that a few of his followers had been maltreated, and robbed of their arms and red crosses, by the inhabitants of Zemlin (afterwards called Malleville). This outrage had been overlooked by Walter, from motives either of prudence or humanity. The effect of this forbearance was contempt; and when a second band of the (so deemed) pusillanimous Crusaders drew near, the accoutrements of their unfortunate predecessors were hung in triumph and derision over the city walls. It was enough. Their final destination and holy purposes were forgotten, while the hosts of Peter pressed on to avenge the wrongs of their brethren. The city was attacked with outrageous fury, and carried almost as soon as attacked. With little loss on the side of the Crusaders, 7,000 Hungarians were taken captive or slain. It was the first taste of blood, and it made the victors ravenous for more. Revenge, in every horrible form, sought victims of every age and of either sex, while cupidity snatched at all kinds of plunder. "And thus," was the language of the infuriated and lustful mob, "thus shall be done to the infidel Turks!" Their "'prentice work" was accomplished at Zemlin, and it was not performed negligently. We may well believe that Peter—a decided monomaniac, but not, natu-

rally, a blood-thirsty man—sickened at the sight, and turned away with disgust. But ere now, probably, he had learned that his authority over his followers was only nominal.

The outrage was not likely to produce very complacent feelings in the mind of the King of Hungary. He hastened to avenge it. At the first tidings of his approach, Peter and his followers abandoned the city, and attempted to cross the Save, or Maroe, a river which separated Hungary from Bulgaria. Some of the fugitives were swept away by the current, some slain by opposing enemies on the opposite bank; but the majority escaped. The progress through Bulgaria was tumultuous and unhappy. The country people had fled to the friendly shelter of their native forests, to escape what they must have felt to be an unprincipled invasion. The Prince of Bulgaria, however, opposed no obstacles to the free passage of the Crusaders, and permitted provisions to be sold to them. Peter also desired to conciliate the Bulgarians, but the madness of his followers defeated his efforts. A battle ensued, which ended in the total defeat of the Crusaders, and their immediate dispersion. The Hermit then abandoned himself to despair, and fled alone into the dense forests of the country. Here he wandered, until meeting with a few of his fugitive band, who had not, like himself, lost all presence of mind, he again rallied round him, first, a few hundreds, and then a few thousands of his dispersed followers. Eventually, he found himself

at the head of nearly 30,000 miserable wretches, destitute alike of provisions, arms, and money. Advancing onwards, as they could, the distressed and humiliated Crusaders arrived at length at Philippopoli, where the eloquence of the Hermit wrought upon the compassion of the inhabitants. Peter was now in more friendly quarters, and within 200 miles of Constantinople, where he arrived in due time, and united himself and his band with the remnant of Walter's division.

We shall have occasion to notice the inconsistency and duplicity which marked the conduct of Alexius towards the Crusaders. Hitherto he appears to have acted fairly by them. It is not unlikely that he secretly rejoiced in the disasters which had befallen the troops of Walter and Peter; for though he had, by his ambassadors, sought the help of western Europe, he manifestly trembled at the spirit he had evoked. But the time was not yet come for the display of inimical feeling, and the Emperor furnished the miserable and destitute beings, who thronged the suburbs of Constantinople, with quarters, money, and provisions.

The kindness of Alexius was basely rewarded by the Crusaders. They broke out into open excesses, plundering indiscriminately churches, palaces, and cottages, and living in riot and defiance of all authority. Peter might well be ashamed of the rabble of which he was the nominal leader. Alexius quite as speedily became tired of his guests, and heartily co-operated with the Hermit in transporting

them across the Bosphorus. He wisely advised them, however, not to penetrate far into Asia, until the arrival of the more military forces of the Crusade, with their more competent leaders; and he enjoined upon them good order and quietness. For two months some degree of order was actually maintained; but, tired of inaction, and inadequately supplied by the Greeks with means of subsistence, the multitude became clamorous, and finally spurned almost all control, — ravaging the country around with unbounded fury. Peter then returned to Constantinople, leaving Walter the Penniless to govern the mob. The departure of Peter was the signal for breaking asunder the confederacy which hitherto, in their wildest and most iniquitous proceedings, had bound together Normans and Frenchmen, Italians and Germans. Ten thousand of the two former nations now separated themselves from the main body, marched forward to Nice (Nicea), the capital of Bithynia, and took possession of a fortress; but their career of conquest was concluded where it began. A Turkish force, far exceeding their own in number, fell upon them and destroyed all who were not shut up in the fort. Of these, some filled up the measure of their crimes by treason, delivering the fort into the hands of the Turks, assisting in the slaughter of their companions, and embracing Islamism as the price of their own safety.

This event was soon followed by the destruction of the larger body, who yet remained under the

leadership of Walter. Deceived by false representations, they demanded to be led to Nice, to share in plunder which they believed was to be there obtained. Walter unwillingly yielded, and they set forward. Arrived at the plains of Nice, they were attacked by an overwhelming force of Turks, and sustained a complete overthrow. Walter was slain; and of those who fought under his banners, 3,000 (some historians say 300) only escaped by flight. The combat ended, the victorious Turks meted out to the invaders the very cruelties which had been harboured in intention against themselves. They murdered in cold blood the priests whom they found in the crusading camp, violated the women, and collected the remains of the slaughtered thousands into a festering heap, in savage token of triumph. Those who fled entered, for temporary safety, into a castle on the sea shore, whence they were rescued by Alexius, at the earnest entreaty of Peter, who pleaded for them as the soldiers of Jesus Christ.

Thus terminated the first attempt upon the power of Islamism. Its disastrous result probably corrected some of the contemptuous notions held by the Crusaders respecting the physical weakness of their adversaries; and other lessons, to the same import, speedily followed.

While Peter and his followers had been breaking their way through Europe, another band, composed of yet more degraded and savage materials, was collected in Lorraine, by Godeschal, a German

priest. Following in the now beaten track, these Crusaders outdid their predecessors in deeds of wanton cruelty. Carolman, the king of Hungary, was at length roused to a sense of the mischiefs attending these wild expeditions; but, despairing of safety by open opposition, he had recourse to unjustifiable stratagem. He deceived the strangers by false promises of safety and protection, and obtained possession of their arms. These secured, his troops fell upon the defenceless multitude, slaying them without mercy. The plains of Belgrade were ghastly with the dying and the dead; and but few of the 15,000 deluded but guilty Crusaders escaped to tell the tale of sanguinary retaliation.

Meanwhile, another, and a most overwhelming body, congregated from various parts of Europe, and composed of the very dregs of the people,—infamous beyond description in morals, and ignorant and superstitious to the extremest degree,—pressed forward in the course of desolation and plunder, under the sacred guise of soldiers of the cross. Their leader, or one of their leaders, was Count Emicho, a bandit baron of the Rhine, notorious for cruelty and every base and sordid passion. So gross was the mental darkness of this utterly villainous band, that a goose and a goat were carried before them, and worshipped as their protecting deities.

The atrocities of these banditti commenced early in their career. Their fury was first directed against the unoffending Jews who inhabited the

populous and wealthy cities of Europe. It was their duty, they said, to take every opportunity of evincing their zeal against the enemies of Jesus Christ, whether in Europe or the Holy Land. A more rational solution of their conduct is to be found in the fact that the Jews at that period, as well as in after generations, enriched themselves by commerce wherever they established themselves, and offered a tempting bounty to unprincipled Gentiles.

In vain did the Archbishop of Mayence interpose his authority to save the victims; 700 Jews perished there by the sword. The Bishop of Spires, with more success, resisted the murderous mob. At Treves and Worms attempts were made, by the bishops of those cities, to ward off the fatal stroke by inducing the Jews to renounce their faith and embrace Christianity. Some yielded to the voice of outward solicitation and to inward terror; but, for the most part, they refused to forsake the religion of their fathers, choosing rather to perish by their own hands than submit to the alternative placed before them,—apostasy or torment. Thus, “mothers plunged the dagger into the breasts of their own children, fathers and sons destroyed each other, and women threw themselves into the Mcsele.”

Sated at length with blood and plunder, the marauders—200,000 in number—passed into Hungary, forcing their way southward. But their passage was opposed by an Hungarian army. Their

cowardice was as excessive as their ferocity. The slaughter inflicted upon them discoloured and polluted the waters of the Danube. Count Emicho and some few of his rabble escaped back into Germany, and others were driven on southward; but the greater number were annihilated.

Thus closed the first series of expeditions, dignified by the title of "Crusades." In the course of a few months, a million of lives had been wasted, and enormities the most fearful committed, while the object remained unattained. No impressions had been made upon the enemies of the Christian system, save those of increased contempt and embittered hatred. The powers of Mahometanism were yet untouched, and the borders of Palestine yet unattained, while Europe had been drained of no inconsiderable amount of its population.

Of Peter the Hermit we shall obtain a passing glimpse hereafter; but, in concluding this chapter, it may be said that he differed widely in character from the greater number of the men with whom he was associated. The great scheme of the redemption of Jerusalem from the hands of infidels dazzled his imagination, and rendered him insensible to the mischiefs perpetrated in the attempt. But traces of low selfishness or sanguinary depravity are not easily to be found in his history. Not so is it with the great body of his followers. Among them were, doubtless, some who shared in the Hermit's enthusiasm and, so called, piety; but, in general, that body was composed of the basest

and most unworthy characters. Under the garb of Christian zeal, an amount of pride, licentiousness, and covetousness, fearful to contemplate, was imperfectly concealed. Of the tens of thousands whose bones whitened the soil of Hungary, Bulgaria and Bithynia, the majority were desperate men who had been glad to embark in an enterprise which, for the time, freed them from all control, from debt, from domestic ties, from the inconveniences of poverty, or from the righteous demands of human laws; and which, moreover, commended itself to their ignorance and vice, as offering an easy attainment of future eternal safety, without the abandonment of present guilt.

CHAPTER V.

The Leaders of the Crusading Army.

"Their limbs all iron, and their hearts all flame,
A countless host, the red-cross warriors came."

HEBER.

GODFREY VI., lord of Bouillon in the Ardennes, marquis of Anvers (Antwerp), and duke of Lorraine, was one of the noblest leaders of the crusading forces, which Peter the Hermit, in his haste, had left behind him. Tasso has recorded his character, as one who

"Full of zeal and faith, esteemed light
All worldly honour, empire, treasure, might;"

and his previous history, so far as it is known, as well as his conduct as a Crusader, warrants the encomium. In his youth he had espoused the cause of Henry VI. of Germany, in his contests with the Pope; and had distinguished himself alike by his intrepidity and prudence. Henry had heaped honours upon him, and married his sister; but, by his subsequent dishonourable treatment of the empress, he had not only forfeited the friendship of Godfrey, but provoked his enmity. This enmity had been as disastrous to Henry as that friendship had been valuable; and Urban might well rejoice that so powerful and influential an ally was detached from his imperial adversary. The military qualifications of Godfrey were equalled by his moral

virtues ; and with these were connected—no usual thing in the eleventh century—extensive information, and exceeding gentleness of disposition. The importance of obtaining Godfrey's assistance in the projected Crusade was not overlooked by Urban ; but when the council of Clermont was held, the warrior lay on a bed of wasting sickness.

But, on hearing the result of that council, Godfrey's spirit was roused. “ He shook disease from his limbs,” is the language of his panegyrist, Malmesbury, “ and rising with expanded breast, as it were, from years of decrepitude, he shone with renovated youth.” In less inflated terms, it may be fairly surmised, that the excitement occasioned by the tidings of the Crusade, joined with ardent though mistaken devotional feelings, gave impulse to the powers of a strong and temperately nurtured constitution, and enabled it speedily to triumph over the languor of disease.

As a preparation to the undertaking in which he was about, heart and soul, to engage, the lord of Bouillon made over to the clergy some temporal privileges in his city of Verdun ; and to furnish the means for his departure he sold, or mortgaged, his lordship and castle of Bouillon to the bishop of Liege. Transactions of this nature were among the common events connected with the history of the Crusades, from their commencement to their close.

Under the banner of Godfrey were ranged his brother Baldwin, his relation Baldwin du Bourg, and many other lords each of whom furnished a

large body of retainers, burning with chivalric zeal for the deliverance of Judea. This army, collected from the country between the Elbe and the Rhine, differed widely from the half-savage bands of the Hermit. The latter were composed almost entirely of persons of plebeian birth, untrained to the use of horse and lance—trusting mainly to the virtue of their cause, and their brute force—being irregularly armed with such weapons of offence as were most easily attainable. The army of Godfrey—and the same remarks will apply to the forces of his fellow leaders in this expedition—comprised the flower of European chivalry, well versed in equestrian exercises, and clothed in almost impenetrable armour. Each subordinate leader was

“A goodly knight, well armed in harness meet
That from his head no place appeared to his feet.”

The offensive weapons of these iron-clad soldiers were the lance, battle-axe, sword, and mace, each of which they wielded with murderous power,—a power assisted by the weight and impetus of the large war-horses they rode. Each knight was attended by his squire, a youth of equal birth and expectations with himself, and by archers and inferior soldiers, varying in number according to the rank and means of the knight.

His army thus constituted, Godfrey prepared himself to act in concert with the other great military leaders of the Crusade. It was deemed desirable that the forces of each should proceed

separately, if not by different routes ; and the army of Godfrey was appointed to lead the van.

Commencing his march from his dukedom of Lorraine, in August, 1096, Godfrey proceeded through Germany to the borders of Hungary, thus following the direct route of the Hermit and his companions. But the conduct of Godfrey and his army was very different from that of their predecessors. Perfect order and excellent discipline marked every step of the progress. It is one of the rare instances in which the march of an army, even through a friendly country, has been unattended by injustice, and unfollowed by the hatred of the injured population.

On arriving at the frontiers of Hungary, Godfrey adopted the wise precaution of sending an ambassador to the King. "We see around us," was the message, "heaps of unburied corpses, in whose features we recognise our brothers who have preceded us in this our holy warfare. For what cause were they slain ? If their fate were justly merited we will mourn over their crimes. But if, as innocent strangers, and in violation of the claims of common humanity, they have been wickedly murdered, then we are prepared to punish the murderers."

The answer of Carlmnan was decisive of this question. He detailed the kindness first shown to the followers of Walter, Peter, and Godeschal, and the ingratitude his country had experienced from them. He told of the enormities these misgoverned bands had perpetrated in his dominions, and de-

clared that, roused by these excesses to a just indignation, he had repelled by force of arms the next rabble that had ventured to invade Hungary. Nevertheless, he was willing to receive the lord of Bouillon in all friendship ; and proposed an interview at the neighbouring fortress of Cyperon (Pason.)

The proposal was frankly accepted by Godfrey, and terms of continued amity were agreed upon. The Crusaders were to be allowed to march uninterruptedly through Hungary ; the Hungarians were to provide provisions for them on reasonable terms ; and hostages were to be detained for the good faith and conduct of the crusading army.

The hostages required by Carlonian were the person and family of Baldwin, the brother of Godfrey, who at first refused the hazardous distinction ; but Godfrey declared that he himself would undertake the office, and Baldwin then yielded.

The further progress of Godfrey's army was marked by the same excellent order which had hitherto distinguished it ; and on the banks of the Save the hostages were delivered up to him, with expressions of good will and esteem from the king of Hungary.

The lord of Bouillon now entered the states of Greece. Bulgaria, a wild, uncultivated country, which had, moreover, been once and again ravaged by the former multitudes, would have furnished insufficient supplies for the numerous cavalry and soldiery of Godfrey. But the Emperor Alexius

yet performed the part of a generous—at least, of a considerate—ally, by opening the imperial granaries, and facilitating Godfrey's progress through Bulgaria and Thrace. At Philippopolis he rested eight days, before the expiration of which term he learned, with equal surprise and indignation, that his host, the Emperor, had taken captive the leader of another section of the crusading army, who had unwarily placed himself in his power.

While Godfrey was passing through Hungary, this second detachment, headed by Hugh, count of Vermandois, and brother of Philip of France, set out by another route, to meet him at Constantinople. These troops were collected from France, Flanders, and England; and the number and renown of their subordinate leaders imparted brilliancy to the expedition, and fed the pride while they raised the hopes of all who followed their fortunes.

The character of Hugh of Vermandois has been variously represented; so much so, that, from the epithets employed, it would be next to impossible to guess whether he was brave or timid, prudent or presumptuous, honourable or treacherous, humble or arrogant; for each of these qualities are ascribed to him by his historians. Without attempting nicely to balance these various claims to contempt and admiration, we may fairly take for granted that upon which all are agreed, that the motives which led Hugh to Palestine were not entirely those of enthusiastic devotion, nor of superabundant pity for the distressed, but rather a desire for military

renown, if not for worldly dignity and self-aggrandisement.

Robert, duke of Normandy, was one of the great nobles who had "taken the cross," and now appeared under the banner of Hugh of Vermandois. Generous and brave, but rash and imprudent to an excessive degree, he had embraced the cause of the Crusade with constitutional ardour; and, destitute of funds, had pawned his dukedom for ten thousand marks to his brother, William of England. Among his companions in arms was Edgar Atheling, the legitimate heir to the Anglo-Saxon throne, but whose claims had given way, first to the more prompt and military character of Harold, and then to the arms of the Conqueror. The characters of Robert and Edgar were in some respects similar. They were boon companions, as well as companions in arms.

Other of the followers of Hugh were Eustace, earl of Boulogne, and brother of Godfrey of Bouillon; Roger de Clinton, bishop of Litchfield; and Odo, bishop of Bayeux and earl of Kent,—the same Odo who, thirty years before, had headed a Norman troop at the battle of Hastings.

Another Robert, the count of Flanders, also accompanied this division of the crusading army, and commanded the Flemish troops. But the most wealthy and powerful of all the nobles under Hugh of Vermandois, was Stephen, count of Blois and Chartres. His soldiers were numerous, and his reputation stood high as a skilful statesman.

Under these men of might and worldly wisdom the army of Hugh commenced its march. Instead of pursuing the track of all the previous Crusaders, the Count of Vermandois led his soldiers across the Alps into Italy, intending to embark thence, and proceed by sea to the Holy Land. At Lucca he was met by Urban, who delivered into his hands the standard of St. Peter.

Hugh was desirous of proceeding at once; but the soft pleasures of Italy had charms for some of his followers, which they did not care to withstand. Robert of Normandy, as dissipated as brave, and Stephen of Blois, considerably more so, determined to winter under an Italian sky, and accordingly put their troops into winter quarters. Now was seen a crusading army in its gayest phase. It seemed like an immense party of pleasure, rather than an army bound for a distant and dangerous enterprise. Every care had been taken to provide for recreation. Treasures of gold and silver abounded throughout the camp. The wives and families of many a crusading noble gave life and brilliancy to every amusement. Hounds and hawks, which had been transported across the Alps, and were intended for future diversion in the intervals of warfare in Asia, were now put into requisition.

The impatience of Hugh was not to be overcome by blandishments such as these. He determined to proceed, and leave behind him his effeminate companions. In preparing for departure, he thought it necessary to forward a letter to

Alexius, announcing his intended arrival in terms sufficiently arrogant, and despatched twenty-four knights, arrayed in armour of gold, to the Governor of Durazzo, a Grecian port, requiring him to make suitable preparations for the standard-bearer of the Pope.

But Alexius had ere this become alarmed at the apparently interminable hosts which Europe was pouring into his dominions ; and had repented his folly in first encouraging this Crusade by sending ambassadors to Placentia. Hitherto he had maintained an appearance of friendship ; but it was with the intention of breaking off from his dangerous and expensive allies at the first favourable opportunity. Such an opportunity now presented itself. To the proud Emperor, all Europe that was not Greece was uncivilised—barbarian ; and that a Frankish chieftain should presume to address him in terms implying equality, if not superiority, was not to be endured. He met the letter of Hugh by an order to his naval powers in the Adriatic, to prevent any ships of the Crusaders leaving the coast of Italy, or to capture such as might escape the blockade.

Ignorant of the opposition designed for him, the Count of Vermandois set sail with his fleet. A storm arose and scattered his ships, driving that in which he had embarked upon the Grecian shore, near Durazzo. As a suppliant for hospitality, therefore, did Hugh first set his foot on Grecian soil ; and as a prisoner—treated, indeed, with ceremonious

52 THE LEADERS OF THE CRUSADING ARMY.

respect, but still as a prisoner—he was forwarded on his way to Constantinople. These were the tidings which reached Godfrey of Bouillon during his sojourn at Philippopoli, and which roused his chivalric spirit with indignation against the perfidious Emperor of Greece.

CHAPTER VI.

The Crusaders at Constantinople.

[1097.]

"Treachery! treachery!"

We return to Godfrey of Bouillon. As soon as he heard of the captivity of his brother Crusader, he sent ambassadors to Alexius demanding the release of his captive. The reply was equivocal and unsatisfactory, and Godfrey took measures to excite the alarm of the Emperor. He began to lay waste the beautiful and rich country around Philippopoli. This act of retaliation succeeded, and Alexius, in his turn, sent messengers begging the Crusader to desist from his ravages, and promising to restore the Count of Vermandois to liberty. Godfrey immediately recalled his soldiers, and commenced his march to Constantinople, in the same excellent order that had hitherto distinguished his troops. On his arrival Hugh was released, and came forth from the city, with the companions of his short captivity, to thank his deliverer.

A messenger from Alexius followed, with an invitation to Godfrey to visit him within the city walls. But, warned of the wily character of the Grecian emperor, he refused to leave the army. Future events proved that he had acted wisely in

not trusting his person to the power and craft of Alexius, who immediately ordered the city gates to be closed, and forbade his subjects to sell provisions to the Crusaders. His poor and short-sighted revenge defeated its own object. It was not likely that a powerful army, in a country well stored with winter provisions, would submit to starvation, or even to privation, and Godfrey once more permitted his soldiers to supply their own wants from the tempting abundance around them. The anticipated result followed. Alexius was again alarmed, withdrew his prohibition and sought for peace.

The command of Godfrey over his army appears to have been most admirable—as admirable as his command over himself. Peace was immediately restored, and the feast of Christmas, which was at hand, was celebrated with solemnities and rejoicings, undisturbed by the din of arms.

Tranquillity, however, was not of long continuance. Alexius was suspicious, cowardly, and crafty. Every fresh report alarmed him. His old enemy, Bohemond, he learned, was leading an army to join that of Godfrey. He distrusted the avowed motives of the Crusaders; feared that his own empire would first become their prey; and again had recourse to treachery to defeat the supposed design. But he yet professed friendship. Under the pretext of assigning more comfortable quarters to the military forces, he removed them to a greater distance from Constantinople, and where they were separated from it by a rapid mountain torrent, while he again

pressed Godfrey to become his guest. But the crusading leader still avoided the interview, and Alexius once more sought the destruction of the army. He ordered a night attack to be made upon the encampment, both by sea and land; but the watchfulness of Godfrey was more than a match for the treachery of Alexius. The Crusaders evaded the attack, and became the assailants. In the general engagement which followed, multitudes of the Grecian soldiers were slain, and Constantinople was threatened with capture, while, for the third time, Godfrey was provoked to ravage the dominions of the Emperor.

For the third time, also, did Alexius sue for a discontinuance of hostilities; and, for a third time, renewed his invitation to Godfrey, offering to give a hostage for his good faith, in the person of his son John, and requiring only that the chiefs of the Crusade should do homage to himself, as their supreme lord, for all the conquests they might make in Asia; of which part of the world, indeed, he still held himself to be the rightful sovereign.

Hugh of Vermandois had already sworn fealty to Alexius, while in captivity, and now prevailed upon Godfrey to yield to the proposal. He showed how necessary to the well-being of the Crusade was the friendship of the Grecian emperor; and that a state of hostility, though success had hitherto been on their own side, must eventually be attended with disappointment and defeat. Godfrey, if not con-

vinced, was silenced by these representations, and a time was fixed for the important meeting.

Meanwhile, messengers from Bohemond reached the camp of the Crusaders, announcing his rapid approach, and bearing a letter to Godfrey. In this letter, Godfrey was plainly warned of the perfidious character of Alexius, and advised to retire from Constantinople, and make war upon the Greeks. This insidious advice throws light upon the motives of Bohemond in so readily countenancing the Crusade. Could he have regained his own former possessions in the Grecian empire, it is probable he would have proceeded no farther on his way to the Holy Land. But Godfrey rejected the counsel, saying he was not unaware of the hatred borne by the Greeks to the Latins; but that piety forbade him to turn his arms against a Christian people.

The homage to Alexius was accordingly rendered. The Count of Bouillon, with a large train of nobles, presented himself at the imperial palace, and was received with all the imposing pomp which Alexius well knew how to assume. Seated on his throne, and glittering with gems and gold, the Emperor exchanged with Godfrey the kiss of peace, and invested him with his own robe, while, in the usual form, he received his feudal homage, with that of his companions. During the performance of this ceremony, an incident occurred which sorely mortified the pride of Alexius, and endangered the amity of the proceedings. A French baron—Count Robert of Paris—disgusted at the assump-

tion of superiority in Alexius, and irritated by perceiving that no seats had been placed for the crusading chiefs, left his station, and, striding towards the Emperor, seated himself by his side on the throne, exclaiming, in reply to the remonstrances of Baldwin, "Who is this rustic, that keeps his seat while so many valiant captains are standing around him?" Confusion naturally ensued; but Robert, with well-sustained effrontery, maintained his position, while Alexius, turning towards him, demanded who he was, and whence he came? "I am a Frenchman of noble birth," replied the intruder; "and this also I know — there is a church in my native country, the resort of those who are desirous of approving their valour in single combat. Till an enemy appears they address their prayers to God and his saints. That church I have often visited; but never have I found an antagonist who dared accept my defiance."

Alexius met this bravado by an ironical compliment, while, by the prudence of the other crusading leaders, harmony was restored, and the ceremonies of the day proceeded. From this time, full commercial intercourse was established between the Greeks and the Crusaders; and, by costly presents, Alexius gained the good will of many of Godfrey's followers.

During the winter, Godfrey was joined by Robert of Flanders, whom, with other subordinate leaders, the Count of Vermandois had left in Italy. In his passage to Greece he had been attacked by the

Grecian fleet, and overpowered; but after being conducted to Constantinople, and taking the oath of fealty to Alexius, he was released.

Thus passed the winter; and in the spring of 1097, the crusading army crossed the Hellespont, and encamped on the Asiatic shore.

The next great division of the crusading forces was led by Bohemond and his nephew Tancred. The character of Bohemond has already been indicated. That of Tancred appears brighter by the contrast with his wily and rapacious kinsman.

"With majesty his noble count'rance shone,
High were his thoughts; his heart was bold in fight,
No shameful vice his worth had overgone—"

—is the poetical language of Tasso; and these praises are corroborated by more prosaic historians.

During the sojourn of Hugh of Vermandois' troops in Italy, Bohemond was employed in quelling a rebellion at Amalfi—one of the richest and most powerful of the Italian cities. But the fervour of the crusading spirit began to spread among his Norman soldiers, and their enthusiasm was encouraged by their commander. Amalfi was forgotten. Bohemond divided his robe of state among his followers, in the form of crosses, and declared his willingness to lead them, at once, to the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre. Having prevailed upon Tancred to join his standard, he sailed from the south-east of Italy, and landed at Durazzo soon after the Count of Vermandois. His army consisted of 10,000 horse and 20,000 foot. This

formidable array saved Bohemond and Tancred from sharing the captivity of Hugh, and commanded the fears, if not the respect of the Greeks. Their march to Constantinople was disgraced by violence, and not unchecked by reverses. Their soldiers were permitted to pillage a fortress, and slaughter its inhabitants under the pretext that they were heretics. This produced a remonstrance from Alexius, who entreated Bohemond to proceed peaceably on his way, and promised that supplies should be granted to his troops provided they abstained from plunder. Bohemond, in his turn, engaged that no further offence should be given. Equal insincerity lurked in both messages; for Alexius was collecting an army to destroy the Normans, and Bohemond was urging Godfrey to make war upon the Grecians.

Before Bohemond and Tancred reached Constantinople they were attacked at a disadvantage by the troops of Alexius; but the bravery of Tancred saved the Crusaders from defeat. Many of the Greeks were taken prisoners, and reproached by Bohemond for using arms against the soldiers of the cross. "We are the servants of the Emperor," was their reply, "and his commands are paramount with us. He knows that ambition and not religion is your motive; and that, to you, Constantinople has greater charms than Jerusalem."

Bohemond released his prisoners, protesting to his friends that his desires were for peace; but that if the favour of Alexius could not be obtained, it

was necessary to dissimulate until the proper season for taking vengeance arrived. On the other hand, Alexius disavowed the actions of his troops, and expressed great pleasure in the thought of meeting, as a friend, one whom heretofore he had regarded as an enemy.

Arrived at Constantinople, Bohemond was met by Godfrey, and afterwards conducted to Alexius. Hypocrisy marked the interview; each expressing joy, while mutual hatred and suspicion predominated over every other feeling. A magnificent feast was prepared by Alexius, in honour of Bohemond, who indeed accepted the invitation, but abstained from tasting the delicacies set before him, and openly expressed his surprise, on the following day, that those who had freely shared in the feast were yet alive. Nevertheless, the crafty politician kept up a fair show of respect for the Emperor; and the Emperor well knew with whom he was dealing. He caused his officers to conduct Bohemond over his palace, and to exhibit to his view a room filled with treasures of jewels and gold. The cupidity of Bohemond was fired at the sight. "What conquests," he exclaimed, "might be wrought by means of these riches!" "They are yours," was the reply; and forthwith they were conveyed to the quarters of the Norman noble, as the price of his allegiance. Tancred, meanwhile, had maintained his independence by crossing the Hellespont in disguise; and no persuasions could induce him to return to swear fealty to the Emperor.

The last army in this Crusade was led by Raymond, count of Toulouse. Selfishness, avarice, pride, and religious intolerance, combined to urge him on against the followers of Mahomet,—the usurpers of the treasures and dignity of eastern dominion. He was the first noble who received the badge of the Crusade from the hands of Urban, at Clermont. Adhemar, bishop of Puy, accompanied him as legate of the Pope;* and his army was gathered from southern France and northern Spain.

The route of this army was through Lombardy and Dalmatia, and disasters attended its progress. Fogs and darkness, marshes and wilds, detained them; and shortness of provisions aggravated the distress arising from fatigue. To add to these inconveniences, the peasantry, alarmed at the sudden appearance of such multitudes of people, retired to the mountains with their flocks and herds, and having placed them in safety, made fierce attacks upon the skirts and rear of the embarrassed army. It was with difficulty that the women and priests, with whom all the crusading bands abounded, were saved from captivity or extermination.

After much delay and many losses, the Count of Toulouse, with his army, arrived at the dominions of Alexius; and then, only to meet with the same duplicity which had so entirely marked the dealings of the Emperor with the Crusaders. By the

* Urban was invited to head the Crusade, but he wisely declined the dangerous honour.

officers of his government the fatigued troops were received with tokens of peace, while no opportunity was lost by the Grecian forces of harassing and putting them to the sword. On one occasion, the Bishop of Puy had a narrow escape with his life; and on another, the Greeks suffered dreadful vengeance from the infuriated and desperate Franks.

At some distance from Constantinople, Raymond was met by ambassadors from Alexius, inviting him to press forward to the imperial city, unattended by his army. The Count acceded to the request; but when he found that the object of the Emperor was to secure his homage, he refused to yield it. He had not, he said, left his native country to acknowledge a new master, nor to fight for any one but his Lord and Saviour. Incensed at this reply, Alexius again had recourse to his hateful treachery. He sent orders for a night attack upon the unsuspecting army. At first, the confusion and carnage was dreadful; but as soon as the Crusaders had armed, and formed into some degree of order, the Greeks were driven back, and finally repulsed. The indignation of Raymond at this act of treachery was unbounded; but the moderate and pacific counsels of Godfrey, and the other leaders of the Crusade, prevailed over his determination for revenge; and Alexius afterwards found means of reconciliation with his new foe, as he had with his former ones. Eventually, Raymond was prevailed upon to take a qualified oath of fealty to the Em-

peror, and, with his army, passed over into Asia, to join the main body of Crusaders.

Soon afterwards arrived the Duke of Normandy, with his companions and their followers, who had carried out their plan of wintering in Italy. One of their number, however, was missing. The turbulent and proud Odo had been stayed by the hand of death.

The remnant of the Hermit's wretched bands also joined the army, the aggregate number of which reached to 700,000 human beings, excited in different degrees by the unholy passions of stern and unbending fanaticism, military ambition, and cupidity, mingled with false zeal for a religion of forms and ceremonies, together with some glimmerings of a purer devotion. Of this large army 100,000 were knights and esquires; while in the remainder were included many thousands of simple pilgrims, men, women, and children; many priests; many infants in arms. From so many countries were the crusading forces and pilgrims gathered, that nineteen distinct languages were spoken in the camp.

CHAPTER VII.

The Crusaders in Lesser Asia.

[1097.]

"There the wild Crusaders form;
 There assembled Europe stands.
 Heaven, they deem, awakes the storm,
 Hell the Paynim's blood demands."

CARLYLE.

NICE, a city on the banks of the Ascanian lake, about 100 miles from Constantinople, engrossed the first military operations of the crusading army in Asia, as it had also witnessed the miserable failure of Walter the Penniless and his followers. This city was one of the most recent conquests of the Turks, and contained still a considerable population of Greek Christians, though oppressed and insulted by their Mahometan rulers. The conqueror was Solyman, sultan of the Seljukian Turks, whose dominions, known as the kingdom of Roum, extended from the Euphrates to the Bosphorus, and from the Black Sea to the borders of Syria. The son of the conqueror, also called Solyman, but designated, by Arabian historians, Kilig Arslan (the Sword-lion), now reigned in Nice as the Sultan of Roum.

Nine months had passed since Godfrey of Bouillon led his troops from the banks of the Rhine.

Much of that time had been occupied by the Crusaders in toilsome journeying, and much, also, in frivolous and vexatious delays, produced by the conduct of the Grecian emperor. But the junction of the crusading troops on the Asiatic shores of the Bosphorus being accomplished, no further time was lost from pressing onwards towards the goal of their hopes. Nice lay in the route, and it was necessary that Nice should be subdued. The way was opened by Godfrey, while Bohemond remained behind to communicate with the Grecian capital, and forward provisions thence to the main body of Crusaders. These supplies had been promised by Alexius, in return for the homage he had received, and in prospect of the recovery of some part of his eastern dominions. But again duplicity gained ascendancy over him. He wilfully neglected his engagements, and so straitened were the Crusaders for food that absolute destitution stared them in the face. Bohemond by turns entreated and threatened, and eventually obtained the long-withheld supplies, with which he set forward to the army.

Immense labour had been bestowed upon Nice, to render its capture difficult. Double walls of great thickness and height surrounded it, from which rose, at intervals, more than 350 towers. Failing to gain possession of the city by assault, the Crusaders made instant preparations for its siege.

At the first news of the advance of the invaders, the Sultan had left Nice, and employed himself in calling together the warriors of his tribes, and was

now at the head of 50,000 men, watching the proceedings of his enemy. When he received intelligence of the unsuccessful assault he rushed, from the surrounding mountains which had sheltered him, upon the crusading army, but was quickly repulsed. A second day he renewed the attack, and the garrison of Nice seconded his efforts by a sudden sortie; but, after a prolonged engagement, Solyman again retreated, nor did he further disturb the besiegers. His former experience of European valour, in his engagements with the Greeks, and more recently in his victory over the undisciplined mob of Peter and Walter, had led him to expect a feeble and a certain prey in the army of Godfrey; but he now confessed that the strength and military skill of western Europe were superior to those of the Turks.

An incident, which took place immediately after the retreat of Solyman, marks the cruel barbarity which attended the warfare of this crusading age. The wounded Turks, whom the Sultan had left behind in his flight, instead of exciting the compassion and aid of the victors, were decapitated as they lay, until the full tale of 1,000 heads had been collected, to send as a present to the Grecian emperor; and the ghastly gift wrought so forcibly upon his gratitude, that thenceforth no complaints of insufficient supplies were heard in the Crusaders' camp.

The siege of Nice was now carried on with vigour, but the strength of its defences defied, for several

weeks, the utmost efforts of the besiegers. Towers were constructed of wood, rising stage above stage, until the height of the city walls was attained. These were then pushed forward and filled with soldiers, who were thus enabled to fight, hand to hand, with the defenders upon the walls. Machines called mangonels, performing in part the office of modern cannon, hurled enormously large stones against the walls and towers; but neither wooden tower nor mangonel produced the desired effect, and the lake Ascanius afforded a ready transit for provisions and men to the beleaguered city. Seeing this, the Crusaders requested and obtained of Alexius a flotilla of large boats, which were conveyed, partly by land, to the shores of the lake, and there launched. By means of these the Crusaders obtained the command of the lake. Meanwhile, a ponderous machine, built under the direction of a Lombard engineer, and dignified by the name of *a sow*, was placed in contact with the walls of the city. Under shelter of this, the foundations of the walls were laid bare, and partly removed, in the stead of which were placed wooden piles, while the interstices were filled with loose wood and other combustible matter. In the dead of night fire was applied, the wooden supports ignited and fell. A breach was thus made in the wall, sufficiently large to admit of an easy entrance. The assault was deferred until the following day; but, when morning dawned, the besiegers discovered that new fortifications had been reared

behind the fallen wall. Nevertheless, the effectual defence of the city against so numerous and determined an army appeared hopeless, and the besieged garrison readily listened to the secret overtures of Alexius, whose commissioner in the crusading camp offered terms of peace more favourable than could be expected from conquerors. The few Grecian troops which accompanied the crusading army, and manned the flotilla of Alexius, were accordingly admitted through one of the city gates, during an assault on the opposite side, and the Crusaders were filled with astonishment at perceiving the banners of Alexius suddenly floating above the walls. The anger of Godfrey and his companions rose to a very high pitch when informed that the city had surrendered to Alexius ; and the common soldiery were yet more irritated at the loss of the booty on which they had reckoned. But, though it would have been easy for them to have thrust out the Greeks from Nice, and appropriated the conquest, the prudence—perhaps some better feeling—of the leaders of the Crusade prevailed over their thirst for revenge ; and Alexius remained master of the place, guarding it with jealous vigilance against even the visits of the Crusaders.

The Grecian emperor knew the truth and value of the proverb, “ Every man is a friend to him that giveth gifts ; ” and he so far acted upon it as to secure himself, in many instances, from the deserved consequences of his own craftiness, when that craftiness was laid bare. He now was profuse in his

presents to all classes of the Crusaders, and so far stifled their natural indignation as to persuade the greater number of the chiefs of the Crusade to a last personal interview, previous to their onward march to Palestine. This meeting took place on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, and Alexius contrived matters so as to obtain the oath of fealty from several who had hitherto eluded it. Even the high spirit of Tancred gave way to the remonstrances of his relative Bohemond, and he consented to do homage to the Emperor. On his part, Alexius engaged to furnish a body of soldiers, under the command of a Greek general, to assist in further conquests, and to guide the Crusaders through the untried regions of the East.

The midsummer sun of 1097 gleamed brightly upon the weapons of the Crusaders as, nine days after the conquest of Nice, the army moved onwards towards Palestine; and towards the close of autumn (Oct. 21), the army of Godfrey and his companions reached the city of Antioch. But before we take note of their proceedings against the capital of Syria, it is needful to glance at a few events connected with their passage from the borders of the Greek empire—a distance of more than 500 miles—through the provinces of Asia Minor, familiar to the New Testament reader by the names of Bithynia, Galatia, Phrygia, Pisidia, Pamphylia, Lycaonia, and Cilicia.

The Crusaders had not proceeded many days on their march when, either by accident or design,

they separated into two bodies,—one composed of the troops of Bohemond, Tancred, Robert of Normandy, and Stephen of Blois; the other led by Godfrey, Raymond, Robert of Flanders, Hugh of Vermandois, and the Bishop of Puy. The result of the division was important. The discomfited but not despairing Sultan of Roum, at the head of his army, had watched the march of the Crusaders, observed their separation, and now poured his troops, unexpectedly and furiously, upon the first and smaller band. A battle ensued, in which the Turkish arrows did great execution on the Crusaders, whose efforts to force their foes to close combat failed of success. Overpowered by numbers, oppressed with heat, almost sinking beneath the weight of their heavy armour, and their throats parched with thirst, the Europeans fought with the fury of despair, while the victorious Turks, inured to the climate, trained and seasoned to patient endurance, and clothed in light garments, were yet fresh and vigorous. They pressed on to the Crusaders' camp, slaying old men and children, priests and women, with unrelenting rage. The agonising shrieks of these victims roused the soldiers of Bohemond to outdo their previous exertions, forgetful alike of thirst and fatigue. They rallied, and drove the enemy from the tents, while the air resounded with the intermingled war-cries of Moslem and Crusader. The women, too, regardless of danger, in this most terrible conflict, ran from rank to rank, and from troop to troop, with water

for the jaded and fainting soldiers, brought from a neighbouring stream. While victory yet trembled on the balance, the warriors of Bohemond were cheered with the sight of reinforcements from the larger body of the Crusaders, led on by Godfrey and the Count of Vermandois. The Turks were taken by surprise. At the first charge of the fresh cavalry they retreated to the mountains, abandoning their own wounded to the vengeance or the mercy of the foe. The Crusaders now became the pursuers ; and when, at length, they returned from the carnage, it was with songs of thanksgiving for the deliverance they had experienced, and with elated expectations of further victories over the enemies of the cross, yet more brilliant and decisive. Immense spoils were gathered from the Turkish camp, and were distributed with a free hand to all. "The poor became rich, and the naked were clothed." The victory, however, was not cheaply purchased. Many of the crusading chiefs fell in the battle, among whom was a brother of Tancred, and Count Robert of Paris. Many females had been murdered in the attack on the camp, and four thousand soldiers found their last resting-place on the plain of Dolyreum. But what mattered this ? Had not the Pope himself, in all the plenitude of his power, as the vicegerent of heaven, and the custodier of the keys of paradise, promised eternal happiness to all who fell in this warfare ? And who, of that immense army, doubted his ability to fulfil his engagement ? Probably not one.

From this time to the commencement of the siege of Antioch, no severe checks were experienced from the opposing forces of the Turks; but other causes conspired to diminish the number of the Crusaders, and to produce disaffection and jealousies among those who remained.

The heat of an Asiatic summer, and the drought of the Phrygian deserts through which they passed, were more destructive to the heavily armed soldiers of the west, than would have been many a fiercely contested field of battle. In one day alone, five hundred of the afflicted wanderers died of exhaustion, and the living became reckless of existence. The privations of the Crusaders were still further increased by the proceedings of their enemy Solyman, who, though not venturing again to attack the invaders, preceded them on their route, and stripped the country bare of all available provision for their subsistence. As suffering from these combined sources became more, and yet more aggravated, the tenderest and strongest instincts of nature were disregarded. Mothers deserted their helpless infants, and cast themselves on the ground before the soldiery, begging them to thrust their swords into their bosoms, and terminate their woes.

At length the deserts of Phrygia were passed, and the more fruitful regions of Pisidia entered. Green pastures, pleasant shades, and clear streams broke upon the sight of the enfeebled multitude, who rushed, with dangerous avidity, to the tempting

waters to assuage their burning thirst. Here the broken and dispirited army rested to recruit its wasted strength; and its onward progress was still further delayed by the dangerous sickness of Raymond and Godfrey, the latter having narrowly escaped being killed by a wild boar which he was hunting.

Jealousies and misunderstandings among the leaders of the Crusade began now to prevail. Tired of inaction, Tancred and Baldwin, the brother of Godfrey, proceeded onwards with their followers, in search of adventures. They separated, and Tancred, passing into Cilicia, obtained possession of Tarsus, the capital of that province. Baldwin soon afterwards appeared, and claimed the conquest, in virtue of his superior rank in the army. Tancred scorned the demand, and a skirmish ensued between the bands of these chiefs, in which Baldwin was the victor. He drove Tancred from Tarsus, and took possession of it for himself. A seeming reconciliation was afterwards effected; but "the brother offended was harder to be won than a strong city;" the cause of offence was unremoved, and the partisans of Tancred murmured loudly at the injustice inflicted on their chivalric friend.

While these unhappy feuds were weakening the forces of Tancred and Baldwin, the main body of Crusaders began to traverse the country of Lycaonia, and to experience a repetition of the distresses of their Phrygian march. The following is the graphic language of one of the sufferers:—"We travelled,"

writes Robert the monk, "with deplorable suffering through mountains where no road was to be found, except the paths of reptiles and savage beasts ; and where the passes afforded no more space than was just sufficient to place one foot before the other, in tracts shut in between rocks and thorny bushes. The depths of the precipices seemed to sink down to the centre of the earth, while the tops of the mountains appeared to rise up to the firmament. The knights and men at arms walked forward with uncertain steps, the armour being slung over their shoulders, and each of them acting as a foot soldier, for none dared mount his horse. Many would willingly have sold their helmets, their breastplates, or their shields, had they found any one to buy ; and some, wearied out, cast down their arms to walk more lightly. No loaded horse could pass ; none could stop or sit down ; none could aid his companion, except when the one behind was sometimes able to help the person before him, though those who preceded could hardly turn their heads towards those who followed."

And these sufferings had to be endured, and these exertions made, not only by those whom a life of warfare had inured to privation and toil, but by delicate females, whose enthusiastic devotion had urged them to the pilgrimage, in hope of witnessing the rescue of the Holy City and Tomb of Jesus. The number of these pilgrims was fearfully diminished ere the object of these hopes was attained ; and many hundreds perished at this

stage of the journey. Happily the progress of the army was unimpeded by enemies ; and, at length, they reached the city of Marescha, in Cilicia, where they were received by the Christian population with hospitality and sympathy.

At this city Godfrey was rejoined by his brother Baldwin. But that ambitious man, panting for further conquests, again leaving the main army, passed over the Euphrates, and obtained possession of Edessa,—a city of Mesopotamia, nominally an appendage to the Grecian empire, but oppressed by Turkish power, and unwillingly yielding to Turkish exactions. Baldwin was hailed as the deliverer of the city, and eventually—after many insurrections, treacheries, and murders, upon the particulars of which we cannot enter—was crowned as its king. While he was thus founding an European monarchy in Mesopotamia, Tancred was enriching himself by his conquests in Cilicia. The city of Alexandretta surrendered to his arms, and the surrounding country became tributary to him ; but, leaving his conquests, he joined the great body of Crusaders, who, having left Marescha, were now encamped within twenty miles of Antioch.

Such were the first crusading operations in Asia ; such the obstacles they had to encounter ; and such, as we have attempted to describe them, the men who designated themselves the true soldiers of Jesus Christ. Has the reader been able to trace in them any resemblance to Him who wept over Jerusalem, and prayed for his murderers ?

CHAPTER VIII.

The Crusaders in Syria.

[1008.]

"Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel."

At the time of the first Crusade, Syria was divided among a great number of petty princes, each acknowledging the supreme authority of the Caliph of Egypt; but each, at the same time, doing what seemed right in his own eyes; and all being in a state of disorganization. Antioch and the surrounding country was governed by a sovereign named Baghasian, whose acts of tyranny had rendered him odious to his own subjects. At the very time of the entrance of the crusading army into Syria, the Turkish inhabitants were in a state of warfare among themselves. Hitherto they had appeared to think lightly of the proceedings of the invaders, while in the dominions of Solyman; but as the danger drew nearer, each Syrian prince retired to his own dominions, to provide against the danger which now evidently threatened him.

To attempt a detail of the siege of Antioch would far exceed the limits of these sketches. A few particulars only can be given of an undertaking, the accomplishment of which occupied many months, and involved a fearful sacrifice of

human life, the endurance of intense privation, and the perpetration of most detestable crimes—crimes the more detestable that they were committed under the pretence of Christianity.

The city of Antioch was about four miles in circumference, well fortified with walls and bulwarks, and encompassed by a deep moat, except where the river Orontes approached its western walls. Ten miles farther west were the shores of the Mediterranean sea. Before the Crusaders drew near, every preparation had been made for defence. The fortifications were repaired, provisions stored, and the greater part of the male Christian population expelled the city.

Six miles above Antioch was a bridge crossing the Orontes, strongly defended with towers and gates, covered with plates of iron. The first efforts of the Crusaders were directed against this bridge, of which they took possession, after a bloody conflict. The river was then overpassed, and the camp of the Crusaders pitched on the east and north sides of the city. Their number now amounted to about 300,000,—an army still numerically large, but fearfully diminished by disease, famine, and the sword, since its entrance into Asia.

Many weeks were lost by the besiegers in unskilful attacks upon the strong and high walls of Antioch; and though many deeds of individual prowess were performed by them in skirmishes with the garrison, the city yet remained untaken and almost uninjured. Meanwhile, the severity of

an inclement winter began to be felt by the crusading army—severity which distressed them almost equally with the former fierceness of the eastern summer. Scarcity of provision, even to famine, added to their miseries. At the commencement of the siege, the fertility and abundance of the surrounding country had tempted the besiegers to the most wasteful profusion. They disdained to eat any but the choicest portions of the slaughtered cattle that were daily brought in droves to the camp; and wine was quaffed and spilt upon the ground like water. But these days of feasting and wassail were soon over. The vicinity of the camp was exhausted; and food of the most unwholesome and even revolting kind was resorted to, to allay the cravings of hunger. Carrion, unripe beans, thistles—and these but half cooked, because of a scarcity of fuel—were openly devoured. Nor was this all. Cannibalism prevailed to a most loathsome extent (if, indeed, there can be degrees of comparison in a practice, an approach to which is most loathsome)—the dead bodies of the slain furnishing means for many an unnatural repast, when every other resource was exhausted. Pro-vender also failed; so that, in two months from the beginning of the siege, only 2,000 horses remained of more than thirty times that number.

Pestilence was added to dearth. The winter rains were unusually heavy; the camp was flooded; the dying cumbered the ground; and the dead were hastily and carelessly buried. Thus the air

was tainted with noxious effluvia, and the whole space surrounding the crusading camp presented to the eye the appearance of a huge burial-ground. Among those who suffered severely from the effects of exertion and privation was Godfrey of Bouillon. A lingering and dangerous illness deprived the army of his counsels at the time they were most needed; but he eventually recovered.

Under such terrific circumstances, desertion was naturally to be expected. Many fled with terror from evils with which they could not combat, to their brethren in arms who remained in Cilicia and Mesopotamia. Robert of Normandy departed to a new settlement in Laodicea;* and another of the leaders of the Crusaders,—William, surnamed the carpenter, from his ponderous strength of arm,—attempted to flee, he probably knew and cared not whither; but was arrested and brought back in disgrace to the camp by Tancred. Even Peter the Hermit—perhaps one of the least worldly minded men in the army—gave way to the combined effects of neglect and absolute want, and turned his back upon the expedition which he himself had planned, and for which he had laboured; but, as it now seemed, laboured in vain. His flight was attempted in company with “the carpenter;” and with him he was brought back, and prevailed on, by reproaches, promises, and threats, to remain and share the fate of his crusading brethren.

* After many urgent messages, Robert returned to the camp, and was present at the battle of Antioch.

But the desertion which, more than any other, dispirited the Crusaders, and gave offence to the leaders, was that of Taticius, the Grecian general, with his troops. He, indeed, signified his departure as an act of prudence—professing that he went only to hasten the march of Alexius, who was coming with fresh troops and abundant supplies, to the aid of the distressed army; but it was too well understood that the defection of the general was but another act in the almost incessant course of perfidy which had marked the Grecian intercourse with the Crusaders.

In the midst of their wretchedness, the Crusaders became aware that their condition was faithfully reported to the garrison of Antioch by spies, with whom their camp swarmed, under the disguise of Greeks and Armenians. To put an end to this system of espionage recourse was had, by Bohemond, to an expedient, horribly disgusting as well as very severe, but sufficiently effectual. Having captured several of the supposed spies, he caused them to be executed, and then publicly roasted,—declaring it to be his intention, and that of his fellows in command, to proceed in like manner against every future intruder; that they might, at least, serve some useful purpose. The famished state of the crusading army gave dreadful countenance to the threat, and spies became scarce in the camp.

To heighten this picture of human misery, nothing is wanted but a low and depraved state

of general morals. Unhappily, this last touch remains to be applied. Heretofore, whatever might be urged against the evangelical piety and true devotion of those who had "taken the cross;" whatever base ingredients might be mixed up with professed zeal for Christianity,—it is unquestionable that purity of morals and general decorum of conduct had marked the army.* During and after the siege of Nice, for instance, gross vice and crime among the Crusaders were almost utterly unknown. Chastity, sobriety, and simplicity of manners existed to a degree quite incredible, but for the concurrent testimony of every contemporary writer, and every impartial witness. The solemn consideration that they were engaged in a holy warfare, wrought successfully upon the minds of those concerned in banishing every expression of licentious thought or feeling. But now the case was greatly and lamentably altered. A state of hardened desperation, produced by excess of misery, led on to the commission of grievous sins. Adultery, prostitution, fraud, gaming, theft, and drunkenness, now polluted the camp, and cast disgrace upon the badge the Crusaders continued to wear. The torrent of iniquity was so fearful, and the exhortations of the priests so entirely disregarded, that recourse was had, by the leaders of the army, to excessively severe punishments to check the prevalence, at least, of external indecency and disorder.

* The mobs of Peter, &c., are, of course, excepted from this praise.

Notwithstanding the dreadful straits to which the Crusaders were driven, and the deterioration of general character to which we have referred, their courage and determination were not altogether lost. While their distress was at the highest, an embassage from the Caliph of Egypt approached the camp. That prince had heard with alarm of the invasion of Syria, and, probably, with satisfaction, of the famished condition of the invaders,—thinking the opportunity favourable for propounding terms of amity. The ambassadors arrived; but care had been taken by Godfrey and his companions to prepare for their reception. Instead, therefore, of witnessing, as they expected, tokens of poverty and despondency, they were met by splendid magnificence, and, apparently, joyous hilarity. Their message was received by the chiefs in council. It has been variously reported—but unquestionably it was a message of peace rather than of defiance—and was thus received by the Crusaders. The Egyptian sovereign looked upon the Turks of Syria with feelings of jealousy, and was not displeased that their power should be reduced, and their pride humbled. No active opposition was, therefore, to be feared from him, and the ambassadors returned, accompanied by deputies from the crusading army.

As the spring of 1098 advanced, the hopes of the besiegers revived. A sanguinary encounter took place on the 7th of February, between the united troops of Raymond and Bohemond and a large body of Turks, who were gathered from the Syrian pro-

vinces, and were hastening to the relief of Antioch. Victory was on the side of the Crusaders; 2,000 of their opponents were slain, and the rest dispersed. To mark their savage exultation, and to convince the besieged that their hopes of assistance from without were futile, the Crusaders cut off the heads of their lifeless foes and cast them over the city walls.

A month later than this, the crusading camp was enlivened with the news that a fleet from Pisa and Genoa had arrived at the mouth of the Orontes, with provisions and men for their relief. The hungry pilgrims set off in crowds to the sea coast, and were followed by some of the regular troops, headed by Raymond and Bohemond. But, as they returned laden with food and military stores, an ambushment rushed upon them, all unprepared as they were for conflict, dispersed them, and took possession of the booty. The news of this disaster reached the camp too soon for the safety of the Turks. The whole army was put in motion; a desperate engagement ensued, in which the plunderers, as they returned to Antioch with their spoils, were utterly routed with dreadful slaughter, and had not night put an end to the battle, Antioch might then have been taken. As it was, the city lost more than 2,000 of its defenders, and the mourning inhabitants were compelled to witness the humiliating spectacle of the dissevered heads of their kindred and friends, in cruel mockery exposed on spears before the walls of Antioch.

Five months had now been spent on the siege of this strong city, and still its capture seemed as difficult as ever. Another desertion had also thrown gloom over the army of the Crusaders. Stephen of Blois, whose personal courage was never great, but whose importance as an influential leader was universally acknowledged, pleaded ill health, and retired to Alexandretta with 4,000 of his soldiers. He promised, indeed, to return on the recovery of his strength. But this promise did not deceive his companions as to the real nature of his malady, and a law was enacted by which future desertions were to be ranked with the crimes of murder and blasphemy.

Meanwhile, the blockade of Antioch was rendered more strict; and while, with returning summer, the Crusaders were relieved in some measure from the horrors of pestilence and dearth, these evils were transferred to the inhabitants of the beleaguered city. Treachery was also at work there. An Armenian inhabitant of Antioch, named Phirouz, negotiated with Bohemond for delivering it into his hands. The plot thickened and succeeded. On the 3rd of June, in the darkness of night, the Crusaders were admitted, took possession of the city, and commenced an indiscriminate massacre of the wretched inhabitants,—rending the air the while with their profanation of the name of the Lord of love and mercy, in the crusading war-cry, “It is the will of God!”

As the conquerors became sated with blood, some

mercy was shown to the Christian inhabitants, but none to the devoted Moslems. Neither house nor mosque afforded sanctuary; and if any escaped the town, it was but to die unpitied on the plain. Baghasian endeavoured to escape, but unsuccessfully. He was captured, and his head exposed in triumph. The citadel alone remained in the hands of the Turkish garrison.

The morals of the Crusaders had been relaxed heretofore, but now all human feelings seem to have been lost in a flood of debauchery and cruelty. But we willingly forbear to dwell upon so dark a page of history. It is enough to say, that every conceivable crime was perpetrated by hundreds and thousands who boasted of being the chosen champions of the Redeemer of the world.

The victors were not permitted long to enjoy this conquest uninterrupted. The news of the defeat of Solyman—the capture of Nice, Tarsus, and Edessa—and the invasion of Syria—had been told to the Emperor of Persia; had alarmed him for his own safety; and had induced him to forward an army against the invaders of the east. To this army were joined, in the course of its progress, the broken forces of Solyman. Reaching Syria after the capture of its capital, the Persians became the besiegers, and the Crusaders the besieged. Famine was again felt in all its horrors, and desertions once more became frequent. The soldiers, many of them, escaped by ropes from the walls, to meet with equal difficulties and dangers without, to those

they dreaded within. An army is never without its jesters, whom even the intensity of suffering cannot restrain, and in some happy hour the soubriquet of *rope-dancers* was bestowed upon the recreants who had thus fled. These desertions were the cause of further disappointment; for some of the deserters—escaping the dangers which beset their retreat—met in Phrygia an army of Grecians, attended by Alexius himself, hastening to share in the anticipated conquests of his allies. But on hearing of their renewed and unexpected troubles, the Emperor returned in haste to Constantinople, abandoning at once, and for the last time, the Crusaders and their cause.

The retreat of Alexius, of whose intended assistance they had heard, filled the Crusaders with mingled despair and rage. Their destruction appeared inevitable; and but for the heroism and firmness of Godfrey, and one or two other of the leaders, the enterprise would have been abandoned, and the miserable remains of the army left to shift for themselves, while their generals were escaping by sea from the scene of desolation and woe. Such a termination to the Crusade was, however, prevented; and, though now hopeless of ultimate success, some degree of unanimity was yet preserved. At length, imposture and credulity, combined with fanaticism, accomplished that of which cool and rational courage despaired. A priest of Provence, named Peter Barthelemy, reanimated the expiring hopes of the Crusaders. It had, he said, been revealed to him

in a night vision, by the apostle Andrew, that the Roman spear, which pierced the Redeemer's side, was buried in one of the churches of Antioch. The shade of the apostle had further assured him, were that spear recovered and borne in battle-front, that victory would be theirs.

Credulity was a characteristic—a leading feature in this Crusade. Dreams, visions, revelations, prophecies, omens, had, in every stage of its progress, from the pilgrimage of the Hermit to Jerusalem, to the siege of Antioch, been abundantly plentiful, and had exerted their full influence on the popular mind. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at, that now, in the depths of hopelessness, such an intimation did not fall disregarded to the ground. The Bishop of Puy, indeed, and some of the leaders, treated the dream and the dreamer with contempt; but others, through policy, if not in full belief, gave their support to both, and encouraged an instant search for the valuable relic. The spear was accordingly sought for, and an iron lance-head was found, or said to be found, and produced to the wondering multitude. Enthusiastic hopes were again raised to the highest pitch; a message of defiance was sent to the Persian leader, and preparations were made for battle. We shall, a little further on, have to tell more of Peter Barthelemy and his spear; for the present we pass on.

On the 28th of June, the besieged issued from the gates of Antioch to attack their enemies. The

effects of famine and watching were visible in their countenances, but hope beat strong in every pulse. Few were they in number, too, compared with their former multitude. Of the 100,000 horses which had careered over the plains of Nice, 200 only remained to charge with their riders against the enemy at the battle of Antioch.

The Crusaders fought with the fury of desperation, and superstition again came to their aid. Strange forms, clad in white armour, were discerned, or professed to be discerned, on the neighbouring hills, hastening to the field. "They are angels coming to our succour!" was shouted; and the news spread from rank to rank. Again the inspiring war-cry was raised; fresh strength and courage seemed to be imparted to the Crusaders; they rushed forward impetuously; the Persians wavered, cast away their arms, and fled in panic terror. The slaughter was terrible, and the spoils were immense. A gorgeous tent of silk, capable of covering 2,000 men, the property of Kerboga, the Persian general, fell to the share of Bohemond, as a trophy of the most decisive victory yet obtained by the Crusaders.

Detestable cruelty again stained the arms and the cause of the Europeans, and—so called—Christians. Women and children became victims to their insatiable and intolerant rage. But we would not willingly weary the reader with recitals of cold-blooded massacres. It is enough that, the citadel having surrendered, Antioch remained in the undi-

puted possession of the Crusaders. Eventually the ambitious and crafty Bohemond was gratified by becoming its sovereign ; but for some time, amidst heart-burnings and jealousies, the Count of Toulouse retained his hold on those parts of the city which had fallen into his power. Meanwhile, the cleansing and consecration of mosques for Christian worship, and the restoration of decayed Christian churches, occupied the attention of the more devout among the Crusaders ; and, although the Greek forms of faith and devotion were held to be heretical by the Latins, the rights of the Greek Patriarch of Antioch were respected, and his authority was confirmed.

CHAPTER IX.

Jerusalem Delivered.

[1098 to 1100.]

"And Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the time of the Gentiles be fulfilled."

EXCEPT in the last battle, in which the Saracenic Persians had vainly endeavoured to oppose the torrent of European aggression, the Turks had hitherto been more especially exposed to the effects of the Crusade. But beyond Antioch, on the way to Jerusalem, lay the dominions of the Fatimite or Saracen caliph of Egypt; and Jerusalem itself, as has been already noticed, was in his hands. The object of the Caliph, in sending ambassadors to the camp of the Crusaders at Antioch, had been to secure his dominions from violence. With this in view, liberal offers of assistance to Christians, in their pilgrimages to Jerusalem, had been contained in his message. But to the Crusaders the distinction between Turk and Saracen was lost. All were followers of the false Prophet; all had oppressed their brethren; and whether the predominating power in the Holy Land were Abasside or Fatimite—Turkish or Saracen—it was enough that either was an enemy of the cross. To the overtures of the Caliph, therefore, the reply was

simply expressive of a determination, on the part of the chiefs of the Crusade, not to rest until the city of Jerusalem, and the sacred Sepulchre, were rescued from the hands of unbelievers. To this language of high-toned defiance they had adhered through all the vicissitudes of the tedious siege of Antioch; and though deputies from the camp had accompanied the ambassadors on their return to the court of Egypt, the only terms of alliance which they had liberty to propound were the entire surrender of the city and province of Jerusalem and Palestine to the Crusaders.

The conquest of Antioch completed, it was natural to suppose that the next movement—and that an immediate one—would be towards Jerusalem. Thus thought the more ardent of the soldiers and pilgrims, and thitherward they demanded to be led. But many months passed before these desires were accomplished.

First, it was needful—so judged the leaders of the Crusade—that rest and refreshment should follow the arduous toil the army had undergone. It was desirable, also, that the drought of summer should be overpast before the army ventured upon the arid and barren road from Antioch to Jerusalem. Thus determining, the first day of November was fixed upon for the time of marching; and when that time arrived, other causes of delay presented themselves; so that the year 1099 was far advanced before the first sight of Jerusalem greeted the self-styled champions of the cross.

The events of those intervening months may be hastily summed up. A message was sent to Alexius requiring the fulfilment of his promises of assistance. The message-bearers were the Count of Vermandois and another of the crusading leaders, the Count of Hainault. The former of these princes alone reached Constantinople, his companion having fallen into the hands of the Turks.

Alexius heard with joy of the reverses of the Turks, for they were his dreaded enemies; he heard, in all probability, with equal delight of the distresses of the Crusaders, for their success would endanger the Grecian empire. The utter annihilation of both Crusader and Turk would, better than any other news, have pleased the insincere Emperor, and it was more than ever evident that he had no intention of rendering assistance to his allies. Nevertheless, the Count of Vermandois was received with honour, probably conciliated by presents, and enticed by the effeminate blandishments of the Grecian capital. Instead of returning to the hardships of the crusading camp, he followed the steps of the deserter, Stephen of Blois, and thus abandoned the enterprise to which he had dedicated himself.

Meanwhile the situation of the Crusaders became daily more painful. Pestilence returned with redoubled horrors. Tens of thousands sunk under the scourge of this sickness, among whom was Adhemar, the bishop of Puy, whose courage, disinterestedness, kindness, eloquence, and sound judg-

ment, had raised him to the highest popularity with his fellow-Crusaders.

But, if checked, the military operations of the army were not entirely suspended. Godfrey lent his aid, and that of his own immediate troops, to a neighbouring Turkish Emir, against the Sultan of Aleppo. Having succeeded in this incidental enterprise, and finding on his return that the pestilence raged with unabated violence at Antioch, he passed over the Euphrates to his brother Baldwin, the monarch of Edessa, where he signalled himself by successful inroads upon the surrounding Turks. Meanwhile Bohemond retired into Cilicia, and succeeded in conquering what had remained unconquered of that province.

Other of the leaders were not idle. Those of them whom sickness had spared, and who could gather round them a miniature army, made predatory excursions around Antioch. When, therefore, the first of November arrived, and the people expected to march without further delay towards Jerusalem, it was found that the chiefs felt a not unselfish interest in attempting fresh conquests, and consolidating their power more immediately around them. Instead of complying with the general wishes of the army, an expedition was determined upon against the strong and well-guarded town of Marra, which lay, indeed, between Antioch and Jerusalem, but considerably out of the direct route.

It was not until the 12th of December that this

city was taken, and during the siege the Crusaders, untaught by former experience, were reduced, by improvidence, to famine, and from famine to their old resources of cannibalism. Sunk, as they must have been by this most revolting practice, below the reach of moral restraints, we cannot wonder that no mercy was shown to the inhabitants of Marra, when it yielded to the superior force of the besiegers. No mercy *was* shown. The most horrible and indiscriminate butchery took place, until, sated with murder, the inhuman conquerors spared the lives of some of the strong and healthy of the wretched people, whom they transported to Antioch to sell for slaves.*

Disputes respecting the spoil followed the perpetration of this wholesale carnage. The Count of Toulouse laid claim to the sole possession of the town, but Bohemond refused to submit to this claim unless, in his turn, Raymond would give up those parts of Antioch which he held. The quarrel of these grasping men disgusted alike their fellow-leaders and the whole body of the Crusaders. Godfrey once more withdrew from the scene of strife to Edessa, and the people, after suffering many weeks of continued and horrible famine, allayed only by feeding on the putrid bodies of the enemies they had slain, in a paroxysm of rage pulled down the fortifications of Marra, and declared their determination

* In justice to the character of Godfrey, it should be said that he was not at the capture of Marra, the expedition against which was conducted by Raymond of Toulouse and Robert of Flanders, and seconded by the cruel and calculating Bohemond.

to proceed to Jerusalem, whether or not conducted by their proper chiefs. Almost simultaneously with this stern demonstration of popular opinion, the troops of Raymond were overpowered by numbers, and driven out of Antioch, leaving Bohemond master of the city.

The departure of the army was now hastened. Raymond, in impotent revenge, set fire to Marra, and, habited as a monk, in token of his humility, proceeded onwards. He was accompanied by Robert of Normandy and Tancred, with their troops.

Their march was unimpeded, for the petty rulers of the provinces through which they passed saw the impolicy of resistance, and entered into pacific treaties with Raymond, by which their dominions were preserved from the desolations of war. One city—Archas—held out against Raymond, and detained his army in the operations of a long and unsuccessful siege.

While one part of the crusading forces was thus engaged, the other, under the command of Godfrey and Robert of Flanders, left Antioch. Their journey commenced on the first of March, two months after the departure of Raymond from Marra; their route was by the shores of the Mediterranean to Laodicea. Thither they were accompanied by Bohemond, who returned thence to Antioch, to attend to the affairs of his own recently-acquired possessions. The greater part of his troops, however, remained with Godfrey, and

their loss was soon afterwards supplied to Bohemond by a large body of English Crusaders, who arrived at Laodicea by sea.

From Laodicea, then in the possession of the Greeks, the Count of Bouillon marched on to Gabala,* after procuring the release and promised assistance of a band of Flemish pirates, who had fallen into the hands of the Laodiceans.

The Mahometan Emir of Gabala endeavoured to enter into a negotiation with Godfrey for the safety of his dominions, as other Emirs had with Raymond. But the Count of Bouillon, less accessible to promises and gifts, refused to listen, and laid siege to the town.

Despairing of successful resistance, the Emir of Gabala sent secret messages to Raymond, offering him large rewards if he would deliver his dominions from the army of Godfrey. The bribe was too great to be refused by the covetous Count of Toulouse, who, by false alarms, induced Godfrey to raise the siege of Gabala, and hasten to his assistance at Archas. An exposure then took place, much to the indignation of the Count of Bouillon; but it was too late to retract, and Gabala escaped the horrors of capture.

Raymond, however, became obnoxious to his fellow-Crusaders. His grasping and ambitious actions had been too barefaced. Tancred withdrew from his companionship, and joined himself to the more disinterested Count of Bouillon.

* Or Ghabel—a town on the sea-coast, about fifteen miles from Laodicea.

To add to the unpopularity of Raymond, it began to be mooted among the Crusaders that the discovery of the holy lance at Antioch was a fraud concocted between himself and Peter Barthelemy. The relic had been entrusted to the keeping of Raymond, and Peter taken under his immediate protection. As scepticism began to prevail, fresh visions were spoken of by Raymond and Peter, in which it was declared that Divine judgments would follow such egregious want of faith. Nevertheless, the doubts grew stronger as imprecations thickened; and at length the ordeal of fire was demanded by the unbelievers, and acceded to by Raymond. On an appointed day, after the usual preparatory course of fasting and devotion, a large fire was lighted in the vicinity of the camp; and Peter, bearing in his hand the sacred lance, rushed into the midst of the flames. But the fire did its work unchecked. The unhappy man staggered through the mass of burning fuel, but came out so severely injured that he died the next day. The trial was decisive; for though some stubbornly attributed the catastrophe to accident or malice, and honoured Barthelemy with the title of martyr, the affair of the lance sunk into oblivion, and Raymond into deeper contempt.

While yet the Crusaders lingered on their march, envoys reached the camp from Constantinople, from Cairo, and from Tripoli. The first, from the Emperor Alexius, forbade the Crusaders to prosecute their journey until midsummer, when he

would join them in person, and demanded the cession of all former conquests. To this message the leaders returned an angry and contemptuous reply. The second embassage, from the Caliph of Egypt, bore presents and new proposals to the leaders of the Crusade; but the proposals were still arrogant and unpalatable, and were dismissed with indignation. The third message, from the Emir of Tripoli, besought the Crusaders to pass through his dominions in peace, and promised supplies of provisions, safe conduct, and guides, on the route. To this proposal Godfrey agreed. Why he so readily acceded to the request, after his stern refusal of like terms to the Emir of Gabala, may partly be accounted for by taking for granted what is intimated by contemporary writers, that the Emir promised to become a Christian, if the future success of the Crusaders might justify such a step.

Leaving Raymond at Archas—the siege of which he soon afterwards raised—Godfrey, with his combined troops, entered the states of Tripoli, and manifested his usual good faith. No outrages were committed—no plunder allowed. The inhabitants of the towns came freely to the camp of the Christians; and the Crusaders were admitted to the towns and markets on their route, unsuspected and uninjured. The Emir himself, it is said, paid a secret visit to the leaders of the army. Near the city of Tripoli, the Europeans first saw the sugar cane, and tasted its juice.

As the army of pilgrim soldiers drew near to the

confines of Palestine, their impatience increased ; and when they entered it, their feelings were raised to rapture. The ground on which they trod was holy ground. Prophets, apostles, and the great Redeemer himself had walked that spot of earth, and by those footsteps it had been hallowed throughout all succeeding time.

The rising sun of a fine morning in June shone brightly on the towers and minarets of Jerusalem, as the army reached the summit of a neighbouring hill. There, beneath them, lay the goal of their hopes, the promised reward of their toils and dangers. Past sufferings were forgotten. "Jerusalem ! Jerusalem !" passed from mouth to mouth, and from rank to rank. Joy, as extravagant, in its first outbreakings, as grief in its wildest paroxysms, took possession of every breast. Some shouted, some wept, some knelt in humble devotion ; others, still more excited, fell prostrate to the ground, and fainted through excess of feeling ; while to some, already exhausted in frame, the effect upon the mind was so overpowering as to cause almost instantaneous death.

A reaction succeeded the first natural burst of astonishment, gratitude, and devotion. It was remembered that the Holy City was yet unattained ; that unbelieving Saracens still held possession of its towers, and viewed with indifference, if not with contempt, all that the city contained to render it valuable to the faith and devotion of Christians ; and that danger and suffering must yet be sur-

mounted before the standard of the cross could float above its walls. But every soldier in the army, probably, felt at that moment inspired with fresh resolution and courage, and grasped his arms with a sterner resolution than he had ever before felt, to conquer or to perish in the glorious conflict that impended.

And yet, it may be said, these were the men who had been guilty of some of the most heinous crimes that can disgrace humanity; whose mouths were scarce wiped from foul and loathsome repasts; and whose indiscriminate butcheries, of every age and condition in either sex, fill the heart with indignation. The devotion of the Crusaders, however, was of a character easily reconcilable with the perpetration of crime. Among them were, doubtless, many nobler spirits who had held aloof from the villanies of the mass—whose piety, though obscured by the ignorance and superstition of the times, was simple, sincere, and accepted. But, setting aside these isolated glimmerings of the marvellous light of heavenly love, it may be too certainly said of the great body of Crusaders, whether soldier or pilgrim, that its piety, at the best, was a system of hatred and violence; and, at the worst, a flimsy veil thrown over the festering corruptions of unrenewed human nature. In either of these cases it is not difficult to suppose that, in sight of Jerusalem and elsewhere, the excited master passions of the soul would find relief and gratification in expressions and actions of strong, but ~~factitious~~ devotion.

The army, when mustered before Jerusalem, amounted to 40,000,* of whom scarcely more than half were soldiers;—a small remnant of the hundreds of thousands who, only two years before, had encamped on the plains of Nice. Few as they were, however, the Crusaders entertained no doubts of ultimate success. They looked upon themselves as the instruments of God's wrath upon the oppressors of His people, and the followers of the false prophet; and God, they believed, were ordinary means to fail, would work miracles on His own behalf. Impressed with this notion, they were at first careless even of adopting ordinary means. On the fifth day after their arrival, they rushed furiously to the walls of the city, trusting to complete their great work by one single exertion of valour. It was not until foiled in this attempt that they commenced, by the usual methods, to lay siege to Jerusalem:

On the particulars of this siege, which lasted five weeks, we forbear to enter. Independent, however, of the toils and dangers of military operations, those weeks of suspense were weeks of intense physical anguish to the Crusaders. The hot sun of Palestine had dried up the streams which, in general, “made glad the city of God.” Kedron, with its dry channel, mocked the thirst of those who were attracted to its bed; the wells had been filled up by the Saracens with cruel forethought; the clouds

* This is the computation of the Crusaders themselves. Arabian writers raise the number to a million.

sent down no rain; and even the morning dew seemed to be withheld. The earth was as iron, and the heavens were as brass. The nearest supply of water that could be obtained was at a distance of six miles from the camp; and it was sought at the hazard of life, for the way was intercepted by bands of light-armed and well-mounted Arabs, who seldom failed to cut off such stragglers as thirst compelled to wander from the camp. And when, under a sufficient escort, water was conveyed to the army, it was sold at so high a rate that comparatively few could purchase it; and scenes of confusion and bloodshed ensued.

The sufferings of the army at Jerusalem were more intense than at Antioch, just to the degree that thirst is less endurable than hunger. Many died in the agonies of delirium, mocked by visions of green verdure and gently flowing streams, the enjoyment of which they were never to realise. Others, despairing of seeing the happy termination of all this sorrow, in the deliverance of the Holy City, hurried fearfully forward towards the Jordan, to bathe in its streams—to die on its banks. Of these, the greater part were cut off by the enemy.

The priests in the camp, as was their wont, did not fail to attribute these sufferings to the displeasure of God, on account of crimes committed. Dreams and revelations became more and more frequent, as the distress became more severe. Apparitions of departed saints, among whom was Adhemar, the lamented Bishop of Puy, held converse—

or were said to do so—with some highly-favoured persons among the Crusaders, and, through them, exhorted to penitence and reformation.

These exhortations were not ineffectual. Animosities were dismissed, and past offences forgiven. Tancred offered a renewal of friendship to Raymond, and this example of reconciliation was followed by others; so that the army, which had been divided against itself, recovered a tone of concord and affection. A procession round Jerusalem, led by bare-footed priests, carrying wooden crosses, was made, amidst the mingled sounds of penitential confessions, solemn hymns, and the not-forgotten battle-shout, “It is the will of God.” The Saracens, from the walls, derided the besiegers; but devotion was, with the Crusaders, a prelude to more energetic exertions and fiercer conflict. On the succeeding day the assault of Jerusalem was commenced, and carried on with the most vehement zeal. Night gave a short breathing time to both assailants and assailed; but the next morning witnessed the renewal of the battle. Signs of supernatural assistance were not wanting. A knight was seen on the summit of Mount Olivet, waving his shield, and encouraging the Crusaders, and superstitious imagination clothed his appearance in divine radiance. “It is Saint George come to our help!” shouted Godfrey; and the tired and wavering Crusaders rushed with new vigour to the fiercely defended walls and towers. Women mingled in the fray—not to intimidate by feminine fears, but to encourage and support. The

leaders toiled like common soldiers. Godfrey was seen with a bow, dispersing arrows with fatal effect among the defenders of the walls. At length the fortifications were gained, and the banner of the cross was displayed above the walls by Godfrey. The Fatimite soldiers fled before the impetuous charge of the victors. Godfrey and his followers descended into the city, burst open the gate of St. Stephen, and admitted the troops of Tancred and the two Roberts, who rushed into the streets with deafening shouts of "God wills it! It is the will of God!" Emulating the success of their brethren, the forces of Raymond redoubled their efforts at another quarter, placed scaling ladders against the walls, and succeeded in gaining the perilous ascent.

The customary scenes of brutal carnage followed close on the capture of Jerusalem. The Saracens fought with the fury of despair. They retreated by thousands to the mosque of Omar, which they defended with their lives. But defence and resistance have their limits; and soon the swords of the unpitying Crusaders were stained with the blood of supplianting multitudes. In the court of the mosque, the gore of the victims, flowing from every interior passage, rose to the knees of the slayers before it found an escape. In the mosque alone, 10,000 were slain, and before the dreadful massacre was stayed, 100,000 of the population of Jerusalem had been sacrificed to the cruel rage of the victorious besiegers.

To the capture of Jerusalem, and the murders

which followed, succeeded exhibitions of devotional feeling. Among the first who remembered the cause of their warfare was Godfrey. He laid aside his armour, clothed himself in penitential garments, and, with bare head and feet, approached the Church of the Sepulchre. The other leaders, the soldiers, and the pilgrims, followed his example. They traversed the city, from one memorable spot to another, until every place had been visited which they deemed consecrated by the life, sufferings, or death of Christ or his apostles. The churches, and other public places, were cleansed from the marks of recent bloodshed; and the whole aspect of the city was changed from horrible atrocity to solemn humility and religious joy. The Hermit Peter was not forgotten in the mutual congratulations which followed. He it was, it was remembered, who had laid the foundation of this great enterprise. His zeal was applauded, his failings cast into the shade, and himself honoured with every mark of respect and gratitude.

Our sketches of the first Crusade are nearly closed, for the subsequent proceedings in the East form a distinct history in themselves. Nevertheless, a page or two must yet be added to this chapter.

Within a month of the capture of Jerusalem, the discomfited Caliph of Egypt despatched a large army of Saracens and Ethiopians, which was further increased by considerable bodies of Turks, against the Christian hosts. A battle was fought near

Ascalon, in which the Mahometans were discomfited and scattered by a comparatively small number of Crusaders, under the command of Godfrey. A series of conflicts followed, in which the deliverers of Jerusalem were victorious, and by which the Christian empire in Palestine became consolidated and strengthened.

Previous to the battle of Ascalon, Godfrey had been chosen king of Jerusalem, by the unanimous voice of his fellow-leaders. The choice was a wise one. Of all the chiefs who had taken the cross, Godfrey exhibited the fewest imperfections, with the largest amount of princely qualifications. He bore his honours with humility, and refused to wear a kingly crown where the temples of his Redeemer had been lacerated with thorns. Acts of piety and devotion marked his reign; but he did not neglect the duties of government. He consulted those of the pilgrims who were best versed in the civil jurisprudence of Europe, and founded upon the results of their experience a system of laws, highly feudal, indeed, in their character, but adapted to the requirements of the people he was to govern.

After the battle of Ascalon, the greater number of the Crusaders announced their intention of returning to Europe. Three hundred knights, among whom was Tancred—the most chivalric, as we now understand the term, of all the crusading chiefs—and 2,000 foot soldiers, were all that remained to defend the infant kingdom of Palestine. Godfrey bade an affectionate farewell to the companions of

his enterprise, beseeching them still to think of him, and to pray for the peace of Jerusalem.

The reign of Godfrey was short. He died in the year 1100, and was succeeded by his brother Baldwin, the prince of Edessa. In his reign the kingdom of Jerusalem was extended, and the power of Mahometanism, in Palestine and Syria, gradually weakened. Baldwin died in 1118, and his relation, Baldwin du Bourg, reigned in his stead. To him (in 1131) succeeded a Count of Anjou, named Fulk, who went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the year 1120, and subsequently married the daughter of Du Bourg. Their son ascended the throne of Jerusalem, in 1144, as Baldwin the Third. In his reign a new Crusade was deemed necessary to support the tottering Christian dominion in the East.

CHAPTER X.

[1145 to 1160.]

**The Crusade of Louis the Seventh and
Conrad the Third.**

"So fails, so languishes, grows dim, and dies,
All that this world is proud of."—WORDSWORTH.

PASSING over a space of nearly half a century, we transfer our thoughts, for a while, from Palestine to Europe. During those fifty years, the busy actors in the scenes already glanced at had disappeared: the place that knew them once, knew them no more. The simple-hearted Hermit, his work done when the deliverance of the Holy City, Jerusalem, was accomplished, retired to a greater obscurity than that from which he had sprung. Whether he remained in Palestine, or returned to Europe, is uncertain. Tradition alone fixes the place of his death in a monastery near Liege, which himself had founded. Pope Urban, the coadjutor of Peter, died before the news of the crowning success of the Crusaders could reach his ears. Alexius, the plotting Emperor of Greece—taunted by his wife Irene, as he lay dying, that he would die as he had lived, *a hypocrite*—had bequeathed his declining empire to his descendants. Philip of France and Henry of Germany had passed away. And of all the myriads who had thronged the square of Cler-

mont, witnessed the extraordinary spectacle of the gathering together of nations to the holy warfare, or joined themselves to the ranks of the Crusaders, but few remained to tell the marvellous tale.

The chiefs and leaders of the first Crusade had also fallen before the universal conqueror. "Their love, and their hatred, and their envy" had perished, "neither had they any more a portion in anything done under the sun." But the principles which had animated their minds and directed their efforts, whether for good or evil, remained; and other agents were readily found to tread in the steps of Godfrey and his colleagues. Incentives only were required, and incentives presented themselves, when, in the year 1145, it was known that Edessa, the seat of the Latin kingdom beyond the Euphrates, had fallen into the hands of the Turkish infidels, and that the conquerors had retaliated upon the miserable inhabitants of that city the savage massacres which their countrymen had, in times past, experienced from the crusading Christians.*

Among those who were more deeply stirred by the news of this reverse, were Bernard, the abbot of Clairvaux, in Burgundy, and Louis VII. king of France. To the Abbot, a man equal in eloquence and superior in intelligence to the Hermit Peter, was entrusted the preaching of this new Crusade, which the King undertook to lead in person.

No fitter instrument for raising the enthusiasm

* Edessa was taken by Zenghi, a powerful Moslem prince, and by his son Noureddin, of whom more hereafter.

of the people to crusading heat could well have been found than Bernard. He was noble by birth; by his own choice he had, at the early age of twenty-three, entered a monastery, where he had distinguished himself by the fascinations of his eloquence in inducing others to embrace, with him, a life of celibacy and self-denial, and, still more, by the stern austerities with which he mortified his affections and lusts. His inflexible integrity had gained the esteem of his contemporaries, and his zeal for the church (the Roman hierarchy) had been fearlessly arrayed against monarchical power. Prelates had been his pupils, and princes had said, "What shall be done unto the man whom we delight to honour?"—but the humility and self-abasement of the object of their rewards rose superior to all solicitations and offers of advancement. Bishoprics were offered to him, and had successively been refused. The obscure abbacy of Clairvaux bounded his ambition. Here he had employed himself, for nearly thirty years, in the practices of monastic devotion, the management of his monastery, the combating of heresies—or what he deemed such—in the church, and the composition of religious treatises. His literary works still remain to show that, amid the superstition of the twelfth century, there was some light shining in a dark place—some scriptural knowledge, and some recognition of evangelical piety, though degraded by its association with a course of bodily exercises, self-inflicted penances, and monkish austerities.

In the same year that brought tidings to Europe of the fall of Edessa, a former pupil of Bernard was elected to fill the papal chair, by the name and title of Eugenius the Third. From first to last his government was one of confusion and strife; but, amidst all, his personal character was irreproachable, and his religious zeal exemplary. "The worst thing," it has been remarked, "that can be said of Eugenius was, that he seems to have had no scruples in accepting the popedom. But it is not for man to say how great a portion of ignorance and superstition is compatible with the existence of genuine piety."* Perhaps the next worst thing that can be laid to his charge is, that, uninstructed and undeterred by the knowledge of former misery and crime, he so readily joined in the project of a second Crusade.

The affairs of France, at the time of this second Crusade, were in a state favourable for foreign warfare; and the mind of Louis was in a state equally favourable for what was thought to be a holy war. This king had, eight years before, commenced his reign with successful energy,—chastising and bringing to obedience many of the turbulent feudal barons of his kingdom, who had previously been in little short of open rebellion against the crown. In this civil warfare, Louis had committed an act of diabolical cruelty, which afterwards weighed heavily upon his conscience. He had set fire to a church, in the town of Vетri, in which thirteen hundred of

* History of the Church of Christ.—Religious Tract Society.

his refractory subjects had taken refuge from the fury of his resentment; and the unhappy refugees—men, women, and children—had been consumed in the flames. By this atrocious act, he had rendered himself hateful to all, but especially to the clergy. The destruction of life might, in itself, be reckoned simply as murder,—perhaps, under all circumstances, justifiable homicide; but to invade the sanctuary of a consecrated building,—to stain the altar of God with blood,—to destroy a church,—these deeds constituted sacrilege so foul and heinous as scarcely to be expiated by mortal penance. Thus, in his calmer mood, thought Louis himself; and a fit of severe sickness deepened these impressions. Before the loss of Edessa was known, he had vowed a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in expiation of his sin, and it needed but little persuasion from the eloquent Bernard to induce the royal penitent to turn the intended pilgrimage into a Crusade.

The measures taken to rouse the martial spirit of Europe, and fix it upon a second Crusade, were similar to those which met with so much success in connexion with the first. Letters from Eugenius were circulated, and Bernard was empowered to travel through France and Germany with offers of plenary indulgence (the full forgiveness of sin) to all who should embark in the holy enterprise. Added to this grand inducement, others of a minor character were held out, which must have operated powerfully upon the great mass of the population to whom these letters were addressed. The obli-

gations to creditors, of such debtors as should assume the cross, were to be accounted void; and the allegiance of tenants to their feudal lords was, for the time, to be dissolved. The costly vanities of the former Crusade, such as hawks and hounds for pastime, and rich clothing for show, were forbidden, and, in their stead, the Crusaders were advised to spend their money on suitable arms and equipments.

In imitation, also, of the former proceedings of Pope Urban, a meeting was convened at Vezelai, in France, to which were invited all orders of the clergy, and all ranks of the laity. It was held at Easter, 1146, and attended by immense multitudes. As at Clermont, so here, no building could contain the assembly, and a spot convenient for the purpose was chosen in the neighbourhood of the town. The Pope himself was absent, but he had an efficient representative in the Abbot of Clairvaux.

Bernard ascended the pulpit that had been prepared for him. He expatiated, in moving strains, on the losses sustained in the Christian territories beyond the Euphrates; the dreadful cruelties of the infidel conquerors;* and the disgrace to all Christendom of allowing a land once recovered from the pollution of Mahometanism again to sink into it.

The old crusading cry was not forgotten. Again the air resounded with shouts of "It is the will of

* We do not find that he said anything about the former cruelties of Christian conquerors.

God;" and thousands, in the excitement of the moment, pledged themselves to the warfare of the cross. The stock of crosses with which the preacher had been providently furnished by the Pope was soon exhausted, and his monkish gown was torn up to supply, in part, the deficiency.

Thus prosperous in the outset, Bernard proceeded on his mission. He passed through France, crossed the Rhine, and entered Germany. Everywhere he was received with fanatical reverence. Miraculous powers were ascribed to him; and it is too certain, either that he encouraged this delusion, the more readily to gain converts to his cause, or that he imposed upon himself in this matter. However this might be, the sick were brought to him to be healed by the laying on of his hands, and numerous cures were said to be wrought by him.*

The Emperor of Germany, Conrad III., was not, however, inclined to listen to the crusading preacher, or, at any rate, to become a convert to his eloquence.

* The following remarks on this part of the history of Bernard ought not to be overlooked:—"But Bernard was canonised; it was therefore necessary, by the rules of the Roman See, that a saint should appear to have worked miracles; and no wonder, when the interests of all parties concerned were favourable to fraud, and when credulity was a general evil, that miracles should be feigned, be circumstantially related, and be implicitly believed. Thus, Ignatius, the father of the Jesuits, was said, sixty years after his death, to have wrought miracles; though in his life, published fifteen years after that event, no mention is made of any. Our King Henry III. was reported to have wrought a miracle, after his death, at his tomb. He, also, might have been added to the Roman calendar, if the imposture had not been detected and exposed by the vigour and sagacity of his son, Edward I. Let Bernard, then, be acquitted of wilful blame on this head, though his panegyrists, it must be owned, have written as absurdly concerning him as if they had intended to disgrace his character."—*History of the Church of Christ*, (R. Tract Soc.)

But, on one occasion, at the celebration of mass by the Abbot of Clairvaux, at which the Emperor was present, Bernard suddenly addressed himself to Conrad; upbraided him with his ingratitude to that Saviour who had done so much for him; drew a fearful picture of the punishments which would, at the great day of judgment, be inflicted on the idle and indifferent; and expatiated in moving terms on the joys which would be awarded to the diligent servant, who both knew his Lord's will and did it. The theme and the time were alike well chosen, and the emperor gave in his adhesion to the Crusade.

The present Crusade, like the former, was marked in its commencement by bitter animosities against the Jews. While Bernard was in Germany, a monk, named Radulf, under pretence of preaching the Crusade, excited the people to murder the unhappy Hebrews inhabiting the cities of the Rhine. The people needed but little incitement to these acts of violence, and the Jews were, in many instances, barbarously persecuted—compelled to be baptised—driven from their homes—or induced to purchase, by the sacrifice of all their possessions, a respite from greater evils. To the honour of Bernard, he opposed these outrages, and silenced the German monk,—representing that the Jews were, though unbelieving, still the people of God, and the kindred of Jesus—and that it would be greatly more glorious, and more acceptable to God, were the Jews to be converted, by preaching, and

in answer to prayer, from the error of their ways, than to be slain by the edge of the sword. It seems almost marvellous that so tolerant and missionary a thought did not carry the Abbot of Clairvaux a step further in the right direction, and open his eyes to the unscriptural character of the profanely called holy wars. As it was, he did service to the Jews, by staying the fierceness of their persecutors.

But the preparations for the Crusade advanced, unimpeded by any delicate scruples about the propriety of shedding Mahometan blood. At Easter, 1147, the German army assembled at Ratisbon, and, under the command of Conrad, pursued their course through Hungary towards Constantinople, now, as before, the appointed place of meeting; and at Whitsuntide, the French Crusaders, with a numerous staff of leaders of noble blood, headed by Louis, and joined by some English nobles and troops of soldiery, started from Mayence. The combined number of horsemen in these armies exceeded 150,000. The number of foot soldiers and pilgrims is so variously and contradictorily stated by different historians, ranging from 200,000 to 2,000,000, that no reliance can be placed on the computation. The German army was, moreover, accompanied by a troop of women, arrayed in armour;* and the French were enlivened by the company of their young and gay Queen and her Court.

* The history of these Amazons would form a curious episode in the history of the Crusades; but all traces of their doings and sufferings are lost.

To follow the progress of these armies, through Europe to Constantinople, would be a tiresome repetition of previous sketches.* The Grecian emperor was Manuel, a grandson of Alexius. He inherited the craft and treachery of his progenitor, and exercised them, to even a greater extent than Alexius had done, upon his crusading guests. Disgusted by many proofs of Manuel's insincerity, Conrad crossed the Bosphorus without an interview, and proceeded through Bithynia without waiting for his allies.† And Louis, though on his arrival at Constantinople he was received with apparently open-hearted friendship, discovered, in his intercourse with Manuel, such detestable treachery, that he was urged by some of his friends to defer the recovery of Edessa until he had made a conquest of Constantinople. But more peaceful and forbearing counsels prevailed; and Louis, passing into Asia, encamped near Nice, waiting for tidings from the German emperor.

These tidings, when they arrived, were of a mournful complexion. Instead of the uninterrupted course of success which Louis had been led to believe had attended the progress of his fellow-sovereign, all had been disaster and woe. Deceived by Greek guides recommended and instructed by

* In its passage through Thrace, the army of Conrad encountered an inundation, caused by mountain torrents, in which many men and horses, and much baggage, were suddenly swept away.

† Conrad himself was not faultless, and the conduct of his German troops in the Grecian empire was deserving of remonstrance and reprobation, but not of duplicity.

Manuel, Conrad and his army had been conducted through deserts where numbers of the soldiers perished by hunger and thirst, and entrapped in difficult passes, where they were fallen upon by the Turkish troops that hung upon their track. In the last extremity they had been deserted by the faithless guides, and compelled, by ignorance of their road, and dread of further sufferings, to retrace their steps. Conrad had been twice wounded by Turkish arrows, and when he reached the encampment of Louis, on the plains of Nice, his own army had dwindled away to a tenth part of its original number. By this time it was beyond a doubt that the Grecian Emperor was in close correspondence with the Sultan of the Seljukian Turks.

After the junction of their forces, Louis and Conrad proceeded along the shores of the *Ægean* Sea (the Grecian Archipelago) towards Ephesus. Here they halted and separated, Conrad returning to Constantinople by sea, and his troops by land, while Louis pressed on towards Laodicea, on his route to the Holy Land.

The way was beset with difficulties and dangers. Before Laodicea was reached, the army of Louis had to dispute the passage of a river with their Turkish foes;* and beyond Laodicea, they became entangled and lost in the mountainous regions of Phrygia and Pisidia, and were attacked by their ever-vigilant

* The superior discipline of the French army gave them the victory, which was, as usual, attributed to supernatural assistance. A horseman (in white), whom no one knew, was said to be seen crossing the river at the head of the French troops, and scattering dismay among the infidels.

enemies. Louis himself with difficulty escaped the dreadful slaughter he was compelled to witness among the best and bravest of his followers. But he did escape, and, with the fragments of his once numerous army, found his way to Attalia, the capital of Pamphylia—a city forming one of the few Grecian possessions in Lesser Asia.

Here Louis experienced, in his turn, Grecian inhospitality and perfidy. In every transaction with the people of Attalia his necessities and weakness laid him open to their power, and they were not slow in taking the advantage. The provisions, for which he paid exorbitant prices, were deplorably bad; and when a proposal was made to hire vessels of the Attalians, that the army might be conveyed by sea to Antioch, the fare demanded for each passenger was so extravagant that the project had to be set aside. After some weeks' residence in the inhospitable neighbourhood, it was decided that Louis and his remaining cavalry should proceed by sea; that the strong and healthy of the infantry should journey to Antioch by land, under the command of the Count of Flanders, and accompanied by an escort of Grecian cavalry; and that the sick and feeble, of whom there were many, should—for an ample consideration—remain under the care of the Governor of Attalia.

But almost before the ships that conveyed Louis and his horsemen were out of sight, the Greeks broke their engagements. The escort was refused,

and the Count of Flanders, seeing no other probability of reaching Antioch, also took ship with as many pilgrims as he could convey. As to those who remained, they were refused admittance into Attalia; the Turks were encouraged to fall upon them in their almost defenceless condition, and the sick, who had been committed to the care of the Governor, and were within the walls of the city, were inhumanly murdered. Seven thousand of the miserable Crusaders, thus deserted and betrayed, made an attempt to force their passage to Jerusalem, but they either perished by the swords of their Mahometan enemies, or were taken captive by them: none reached the borders of Palestine. Of those who remained behind, multitudes daily fell victims to famine, pestilence, and the sword, until even the Turks, unused as they were to the softer feelings of compassion, took pity upon them, spared their lives, and supplied them with those provisions for their sustenance which their *Christian* brethren inhumanly denied. Of these sufferers, thus nobly relieved by their enemies, some found their way to Antioch, a few returned to Constantinople, and some, filled with gratitude to their "friendly foes," and burning with indignation against their "unfriendly friends," abandoned Christianity, and embraced the creed of Mahomet.*

The Greeks of Attalia received the due reward of their cruelty, in the breaking out of a pestilence which almost depopulated the city—a pestilence

* Life of Richard Cœur de Lion, by G. P. B. James, Esq.

communicated by the Crusaders, but first induced by their own inhospitable conduct.

The vessels that conveyed Louis and his cavalry from the scene of distress at Attalia, were not long in reaching the territories of the Prince of Antioch.* This prince, another Raymond, was the uncle of Queen Eleanora, and by him Louis was kindly received. But, in addition to the mortification caused by the failure of his Crusade, the mind of Louis soon became embittered by trials of a more domestic character. Eleanora, a young and gay princess of Provence—a country famous for its troubadours, and notorious for the licentious principles of its Court—began openly to exemplify in her practices what she had before avowed as her sentiments—that no true love could exist between husband and wife. She had readily accompanied Louis in his Crusade, for it promised abundance of amusement; and the army was thronged with the young, the noble, and the dissolute. The unexpected reverses which she had witnessed, and in part experienced, if, for a time, they cast a shade of sobriety over her conduct, had produced no change in her principles. When, therefore, once more out of the reach of immediate danger, she gave loose to her natural levity.

Eleanora had no wish to quit a city abounding in soft and sensual delights, to encounter the hazards of further crusading. Raymond had, therefore, no difficulty in persuading *her* that he required the assistance of Louis in extending his own dominions

* Louis reached Antioch, March, 1148.

round Antioch. But neither the arguments of Raymond nor the entreaties of Eleanora could move Louis to forego or defer the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, upon which his mind was set. On the contrary, the growing familiarity of the uncle and niece roused his jealousy. Suspicion led to accusation, accusation to recrimination, and recrimination to entire alienation. Louis denounced Raymond to his council, as plotting to deprive him of his wife by force, and Eleanora herself as being a party to the scheme. And the Queen, in bitter invective, declared that she had married a monk and not a king. These breaches were never healed. Whatever might be the amount of the Queen's guilt, her unfaithfulness was too notorious to be disputed, and the first steps were taken at Antioch which issued, six years afterwards, in a divorce, and furnished England with a jealous and vindictive Queen.*

These bitter domestic feuds at Antioch were closed by the departure of Louis for Jerusalem, whither Eleanora was compelled to accompany him.

At Jerusalem the royal pilgrim was received with rapture and profane adulation. He entered the city amidst crowds of ecclesiastics and others, in religious procession, who, as the sacrilegious incendiary drew near to the gates, lifted up their voices, and sang, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord!"

In Jerusalem, Louis found the Emperor of Ger-

* Eleanora, very soon after her divorce from Louis, was married to Henry II., of England.

many, who, with the remains of his army, had been assisted on his way by Manuel.* With him, and the princes of Palestine, a new project was formed to redeem the hitherto unsuccessful Crusade from the shame of total failure. The recovery of Edessa from the infidels was lost sight of, for nearer to Jerusalem was the beautiful and rich city of Damascus—a city towards which the eyes of Christian princes in Palestine had often turned with longing gaze, but which yet groaned under the Mahometan yoke that, five centuries before, had been laid on it.

In July, 1148, the allied armies of Louis, Conrad, and Baldwin III., accompanied by the Knights of the Temple and St. John,† proceeded from Jerusalem to Damascus. Cupidity mingled largely with zeal, as the miscalled Christian hosts, “breathing out threatening and slaughter,” like their precursor on the same road, entered the fertile country, and beheld, in the distance, the strong walls and high towers of the Mahometan city. They had not forgotten that, when Jerusalem was taken, “each Crusader became the owner of any particular house on the portal of which he had set his buckler.”‡ Already the golden spoil they should obtain glittered in their imagination, and seemed within their grasp.

* “—— Who was more ready to assist him forwards to Jerusalem, where new perils awaited him, than to see him return to his hereditary dominions without further loss.”—MILLS.

† For an account of the Knights Templars and Hospitallers, see next chapter.

‡ Mills’ History of the Crusades.

Many a leader, too, of these same hosts began to calculate afresh the chances which might throw into his hands the government of so fair a dominion.

But both leader and follower were too hasty in these calculations. At first the siege was conducted with vigour, and success sided with the crusading forces. It seemed that one more effort only was needed to place Damascus in their power; but, instead of making that effort, the time was wasted in deciding who should be the future prince of the city; and a choice was made which proved to be highly distasteful to the lords of Palestine.* In consequence of this, they cooled in their desires for the capture, negotiated with the infidels,† and treacherously co-operated with them in defeating the future efforts of the besieging army. The favourable opportunity was lost; the siege was raised; and the Crusaders returned to Jerusalem disappointed and enraged.

This was the last scene of the Crusade of Louis and Conrad. The German emperor soon afterwards returned to Europe with the wreck of his army, and was followed in the succeeding year by the unhappy Louis, and his unfaithful wife.

* The imaginary conquest was bestowed upon the Count of Flanders, one of the subordinate leaders of the French army.

† One of the historians of this Crusade narrates that the Damascans promised the Templar Knights three casks full of bezants if they would procure the raising of the siege. The casks were sent; but, when opened, were found to contain pieces of brass, instead of golden coins.

CHAPTER XI.

The Latin Kingdom of Palestine—The
Military Orders—Jerusalem Lost.

[To 1187.]

"'Go,' saith the Lord, 'ye conquerors!
Steep in her blood your swords;
And raise to earth her battlements,
For they are not the Lord's.'”—MOORE.

THE full history of the Latin kingdom of Palestine, apart from each successive Crusade, does not come within the design of these sketches. Nevertheless, it is needful to glance at a few particulars in that history, before entering upon the third Crusade.

1. The kingdom itself, in its utmost extent, exclusive of the principalities of Edessa and Antioch, stretched about two hundred miles along the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, from north to south, and eastward from the Mediterranean to the deserts of Arabia. These dominions, containing, as they did, fertile lands and flourishing towns, were not yielded to the victorious Crusaders without many a struggle. If an illustration may be hazarded where it would be obviously improper to draw a close comparison, reference might be made to the conquest of Canaan by the children of Israel. In neither case did the

work of subjugation go on uninterruptedly ; and in each the conquerors were liable to sudden and severe inroads from adjacent enemies.

The Crusaders were, however, generally victorious ; for after the battle of Ascalon,* the Mahometan population gave way to despondency, and multitudes of Turks and Saracens fled the country, to take refuge in Arabia, Egypt, and Persia, beyond the reach of the European invaders. The lands thus attained were not allowed by the Crusaders to remain long unoccupied ; and the few towns still held by the Mahometans were compelled to pay heavy tribute to the conquerors.

The small body of soldiers who remained with Godfrey would have been utterly insufficient for this extensive subjugation. But after the first establishment of the kingdom of Jerusalem, a continual influx was kept up, of emigrants from Europe, anxious to participate in the advantages of the new conquest. And although many of these bands of supplementary Crusaders were discomfited and broken up on their way to Palestine,† yet such of them as escaped were not only useful, but indispensably necessary, in supporting the recently

* See page 106.

† Among the leaders of one of these bands were Hugh of Vermandois, and Stephen of Blois. The latter nobleman, on his return from the first Crusade, had married Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror, who vowed she would give him no rest until he had recovered his lost honour.

Hugh died of his wounds received in an engagement in Lesser Asia ; and Stephen was afterwards taken prisoner by the Egyptians, and murdered. Altogether, more than four hundred thousand of these supplementary Crusaders were swept off by the various agents of destruction which desolated the previous armies.

formed kingdom. When visited by Conrad and Louis, the whole of the region within the above-mentioned limits presented a spectacle similar to that of a compact modern colony, closely confined, indeed, within certain limits, and liable to hostile attacks; but governed by its own laws, professing its own faith, speaking its own language,* enjoying its own privileges, mainly dependant on its own revenues, conducting its own commerce, convulsed occasionally by its own internal feuds, and practising its own vices.

2. It is not to be supposed that, amidst the changes resulting from the success of the first Crusade, the clergy had been neglected. It will be borne in mind that the Christians of the East, connected as they were with the Greek church, were accounted heretics by the Latins. To reduce these to order and obedience, had probably been as great an object of desire with Pope Urban, as to punish the unbelieving Mahometans. "He had a privie project beyond the publick designe," says Fuller, in his "History of the Holy War." And that design was "to reduce the Grecians into subjection to himself, with their three patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Constantinople; and to make the eastern church a chapel of ease to the northern church of Rome." And though full success did not attend this "privie designe," it prospered to the supplanting of the Greek patriarchite

* The language of the Latin Christians in Palestine was that of northern France.

of Jerusalem, and the establishment of orthodox (that is, Romish) Christianity in Palestine.* The kingdom was divided into numerous dioceses; the priests who accompanied the first Crusaders were rewarded with benefices; and the hierarchy of Jerusalem claimed power, at least, co-equal with that of its monarchy.

3. A reference has been made, in the foregoing chapter, to the Knights Hospitallers, or the Knights of St. John, and the Templar Knights. A brief account of the origin of these orders may not be uninteresting. Many years before the commencement of the Crusades, a body of Christians from the commercial city of Amalfi had founded a charitable establishment in Jerusalem, the object of which was the care of sick and poor pilgrims. The commercial importance of Amalfi had first procured the toleration of the hospitallers by the Saracens, and their humane treatment, not only of pilgrims, but of the sick poor of the Mahometans, had gained respect. They bought a piece of ground in the supposed vicinity of the Holy Sepulchre, upon which they built a chapel, and adopted the garb and monastic rules of St. Benedict.

When Jerusalem was captured, the conduct of these benevolent hospitallers was every way praiseworthy. They took charge of the sick and wounded; denying themselves luxurious food, to administer

* Gibbon declares that, "under the iron yoke of their deliverers, the Oriental Christians regretted the tolerating government of the Arabian Caliphs."

more plentifully to the wants of their self-imposed charge. In gratitude for these important services, Godfrey enriched the hospital by the gift of an estate in Brabant; many others of the richer Crusaders followed his example, and thus opened the way to the further advancement and importance of the association. Gradually, from simple, unaspiring, and laborious workers in the field of benevolence, the members of that association merged themselves into an order of knighthood, half monastic* and half military. They were divided into three classes—nobility, clergy, and serving brothers—governed by a grand master. They took upon themselves vows of perpetual chastity, poverty, and obedience to their superior, professedly devoting their large and increasing revenues to purposes of charity. Notwithstanding the rigour of these vows, great numbers of the nobility joined the fraternity; and, by every fresh addition, naturally added to its importance and power. When not engaged in war, the knights of every degree were employed in the various duties of their hospital; and in time of war they were enabled, by their number and wealth, to add greatly to the defence of the Holy Land. In process of time, the Knights Hospitallers had establishments, called preceptories, or commanderies, in every country of Europe.

The order of Knights Templars, or the Red-cross Knights, was founded in the reign of Baldwin I.

* The monastery of the Hospitallers was dedicated to St. John the Baptist—hence they were called the Knights of St. John.

The object of its founders was to provide for the defence and safety of pilgrims to the Holy City; for though Jerusalem was taken from the Mahometans, and the Saracen power greatly broken, the road to Jerusalem was infested by bands of Arab robbers, and thus rendered almost as unsafe as it had previously been. The character of this order assimilated very closely to that of the Hospitallers. The same vows were taken, and a fourth added—that of a perpetual defence of pilgrims and the Holy Land. The number of members of this association were, at first, nine; but they rapidly increased, and with their numbers their wealth. A palace was assigned them in the neighbourhood of the Temple—whence their name,—with a piece of ground for practising military exercises. The Templars were divided into three ranks—knights companions, esquires, and serving men—under the government of a grand master. The services they rendered to the Latin kingdom of Palestine were for some time very great, for their valour was unimpeachable. No perils could daunt them, and no disparity of numbers caused them to turn back from their enemies. “Their business,” writes Bernard, “is to fight the battles of the Lord, without fear of sinning if they killed their enemies; or perishing, if they are killed themselves; because, whether they kill or are killed, it is altogether to further the cause of Jesus Christ. In a word, the lives and behaviour of these knights ought to shame all others who, now-a-days, practise the art of war;

for they do nothing but by the command of their Prior; have nothing but what he gives them; use nothing superfluous in their habits; live regularly, without wives and children; pretend to nothing of their own, nor even so much as wish for more than they have. They, moreover, never give their minds to any sports, delight in no shows, nor seek after any honour, but wisely and diligently wait for the victory of the Lord.”*

Like the confraternity of Hospitallers, the Templars gradually spread themselves over Europe, having preceptories in every country.†

Both the Hospitallers and the Templars were distinguished by peculiarity of dress. The former, on taking the vows, were invested with a plain black robe, having a white cross of eight points on the left breast. The robe of the Templar was white, on which was placed a large red cross. Their armour was of mail; and the helmet bore no crest. Their ordinary garments were plain, no knight being permitted to wear furs,—the great luxury in dress of those times,—nor to adorn themselves with ornaments.

It has been remarked with truth, that “no plan has yet been devised for keeping men collectively poor.” Riches poured in alike upon the Templars and Hospitallers; and with riches came the germ

* *Exhortatio ad Milites Templi.*—Written about the year 1135.

† The first establishment of Hospitallers in England was at Clerkenwell, in the reign of Henry I. The Templars came to England in the beginning of the reign of Stephen. The principal establishment was in Holborn, afterwards removed to Fleet Street. The original Knights Templars little thought of the civil uses which would thereafter be made of their title, and their buildings.

of corruption. Insatiable avarice and domineering pride too soon distinguished these votaries of voluntary poverty and humility. Other vices, also, were secretly indulged by the knights of both orders: and it is not too much to say that eventually the cause of the Crusades was weakened by the feuds and disorders introduced by these associations, to a greater extent than it had formerly been strengthened by their acknowledged services.

4. We shall close this chapter with a sketch of the decline of the Latin kingdom of Palestine, previous to the third Crusade.

The loss of Edessa, though not immediately affecting the kingdom of Baldwin, had taught the Asiatics a lesson which they did not care to forget; they learned from it that the Europeans were not invincible; and the unsuccessful result of the Crusade of Louis and Conrad confirmed that teaching. Within two years of their return, and during the temporary absence of Baldwin and his army, the city of Jerusalem was menaced by a body of Turks, who had advanced, without opposition, as near to it as the Mount of Olives; and though they were defeated and dispersed from under its walls, and subsequently hunted down and slain, almost to a man, a spirit of resistance and aggression took the place of former despondency, or Mahometan resignation.

During the remainder of the reign of Baldwin the Third, the kingdom was in a state of almost constant warfare. An active and powerful enemy,

in the person of Noureddin, the sovereign of Aleppo, and the conqueror of Edessa,* compelled the defenders of Palestine to continual watchfulness and caution. Nevertheless, military glory attended the arms of Baldwin, and some addition to his kingdom was secured in the capture of Ascalon, one of the few remaining Mahometan towns in Palestine.

The death of Baldwin, in 1162, while yet in the prime of life, produced lamentation and gloom throughout his kingdom. Even his enemy, Noureddin, paid respect to his memory; and, when urged to take advantage of the distress and consternation that succeeded his death, he refused at that time to invade Palestine.

The successor of Baldwin was his brother Almeric, who, soon after his accession, made an incursion into Egypt to enforce the payment of an annual tribute, which had been promised on the surrender of Ascalon. A battle was fought, and the Egyptians were routed; but the further progress of Almeric was prevented by the Egyptian general, who, as a last resource, broke down the banks of the Nile—thus inundating the country, and compelling the enemy to retire. Ere long, however, Almeric returned to Egypt, not as the enemy, but the ally of the Egyptian caliph.

* The conquest of Edessa was commenced by Zenghi, the father of Noureddin.

The plan of this volume precludes many collateral matters in the history of the Crusades, among which is the rise of this family, and the consequent decline of the Seljukian dynasty.

The Fatimite power had already been weakened by the aggressions of the Turks and the conquests of the Crusaders. Syria had passed from under the sway of the Egyptian caliphs, and Egypt itself was torn by furious factions. The Caliph, though surrounded by all the tinsel of oriental magnificence, and flattered with the outward show of absolute power, was the slave, or puppet, of any successful rebel who could raise himself to the dignity of Vizir, who thenceforth commanded the armies and swayed the government, until deposed by one more powerful or more successful than himself.

A violent change of this nature occurred early in the reign of Almeric. The Grand Vizir, Shawer, was deposed by the successful soldier, Dargham. Shawer fled for refuge to Noureddin, who received him with friendship, and eagerly promised the assistance of his troops. Foreseeing this, Dargham sent ambassadors to Almeric, with promises of large tribute if he would lend him his aid. But Shawer had the advantage in point of time, and, before the treaty of Dargham was completed, returned to Egypt with the army of Noureddin, overcame his rival, who fell in battle, and reinstated himself in his office and power.

The troops of Noureddin were now an incumbrance to the Vizir, but they evinced no haste to depart. Shawer, therefore, in his turn, requested the aid of Almeric in ridding himself of his troublesome friends, and an alliance was formed between the sovereigns of Egypt and Palestine.

The events thus hastily narrated took place in 1163, and the six years following present a scene of varied conflict and intrigue in the land of the ancient Pharaohs, which terminated in the discomfiture of the Crusaders, the fall of the Fatimites, and the advancement of a new dynasty to the sovereignty of Egypt. The last-mentioned in this train of consequences introduces us to a new enemy of the Christians in Palestine—Saladin the Great.

This prince—afterwards so famous as the conqueror of Jerusalem, and the foe of Richard the Lion-hearted—was the nephew of Shiracouch, the successful general of Noureddin in the Egyptian wars.* His family was one of a tribe of Curds—a hardy pastoral race, inhabiting the hilly country beyond the Tigris. Poverty induced many of these Curds to sell their military services, generally to the highest bidder ; they were, nevertheless, proud, impatient of restraint, and ambitious.

The success of Shiracouch made way for the rise of his nephew, who, by the usual rapid course of revolutions in the East, advanced himself, step by step, first to the sovereignty of Egypt, and then to absolute dominion far more extensive.

Meanwhile, the Latin kingdom in Palestine was rapidly decaying. Almeric died in 1173, and was succeeded by his son Baldwin IV., an incompetent sovereign, and afflicted with leprosy, who, three

* The father of Saladin was also a mercenary soldier in the army of Noureddin.

years before his death, resigned the crown to the young son of Sybilla, his sister. The death of Baldwin was soon followed by that of his infant successor, and the crown devolved, in 1186, upon Guy de Lusignan, the second husband of Sybilla.

During these changes, the power of Saladin had greatly increased. He was now lord of Syria as well as of Egypt. Hitherto, his wars with the Christians of Palestine had been unimportant and incidental; but now, circumstances on both sides were favourable for a decisive effort, on his part, to drive the Europeans from their usurped possessions in the East. *They* were weakened and disorganised by internal feuds. *He* was a victorious general, in the full flush of despotic greatness, and the leader of an army devoted to himself, hating, with bitter hatred, the very name of Christianity, and burning for new conquests.

It needed but little inducement to such an one as Saladin to make war upon a comparatively feeble and distracted neighbouring nation. But had his wishes tended towards peace, the conduct of the Christians themselves would have roused him to war; and it was with fierce and savage joy that his army were apprised of their great master's intention to march them to the gates of Jerusalem.

A battle fought on the plains near Tiberias issued in the complete victory of Saladin over the Christian hosts. Despite the presence of a portion of the (so believed) true cross, displayed before their ranks, and the encouraging exhortations of

bishops and priests as the conflict proceeded—despite, also, the melancholy conviction which must have been forced upon the minds of the Crusaders, that the result of this fight would probably decide the almost instant fate of their kingdom—the battle went against them, and flight succeeded to conflict. The cross fell into the hands of the unbelievers; the Grand Master of the Hospitallers died of his wounds; and, among the innumerable meaner captives taken by the Saracens, was the King himself and the Grand Master of the Templars.

The Knights Templars and Hospitallers, such of them as fell into the hands of Saladin, experienced the effect of religious intolerance. Islamism was the only alternative to death. They chose the latter. Two hundred and thirty Templars were thus slain, and probably as large a number of the Hospitallers.

To the captive King, and the other portion of his prisoners, Saladin showed mercy. One act alone of severe retaliative justice accompanied the cruel slaughter of the knights of the cross. Reginald of Chatillon, who had provoked Saladin to this invasion, and incurred his heavy hatred, by acts of aggressive violence towards Mahometans, was among the captives who were conducted to the tent of the conqueror after the engagement.

Exhausted with fatigue, and parched with thirst, the royal prisoner was presented by the victor with a cup of sherbet, cooled in snow. The King

drank, and passed the cup to Reginald ; but before it reached his lips, the scimitar of Saladin had descended upon the victim, and finished his earthly career. "Had he drunk of my cup," said Saladin, "I could not have punished him ; and the violator of truces deserves no mercy."

The victory of Tiberias was speedily followed by the surrender of the neighbouring country to the conqueror ;* and, three months afterwards, by the investment of Jerusalem.

With a king in captivity, a queen without energy of character, a factious and selfish court, a small and fearful garrison,—Jerusalem presented no formidable aspect to the besiegers. The inhabitants themselves were divided in their feelings and wishes. While the European portion of them were filled with dismay at the storm which seemed ready to burst upon their heads, the Greek and Oriental Christians were by no means unwilling to change the Latin for the Mahometan yoke.

But while all things within the walls promised an easy prey of the Holy City, Saladin yet lingered before he struck the blow. He was unwilling, he said, to stain with blood a city as dear to Mahometan as to Christian. He offered terms of capitulation :—life, liberty, property, and other settlements in Syria to the inhabitants, if the city were yielded without a struggle. The terms were rejected, and

* "From all cities, both of the sea-coast and the inland country, the garrisons had been drawn away for this fatal field ;—Tyre and Tripoli alone could escape the rapid inroad of Saladin."—GIBSON.

the siege commenced. Fourteen days were occupied in various engagements without the walls, and in the more mechanical operations of the siege. But, from the first, resistance had been well-nigh hopeless, and now it would have been desperate madness. The walls were already breached, and treachery in the city was discovered in full and active co-operation with the enemy without. The mercy of Saladin was then implored. At first, he sternly refused to listen. The besieged had once rejected his overtures, and he had sworn to avenge the blood of the Moslems which had been spilt by Godfrey and the first Crusaders. But eventually better feelings prevailed: he consented to spare life and accept ransom.

Four days were spent by the inhabitants of Jerusalem in fruitless lamentation over the holy places of the city, which was then delivered into the victor's hands; and the banner of the cross gave way to the crescent.

The triumph of Saladin was softened by further marks of clemency. He addressed words of comfort to the afflicted Queen, reduced the amount of stipulated ransom, dismissed many gratuitously, distributed alms among the orphans and widows of the soldiery, and permitted a limited number of the Hospitallers to remain in Jerusalem.

His further actions in the fallen city were consonant with his character as a devout and faithful Mahometan. The great cross of the Church of the Sepulchre was taken down and dragged through the

dirt of the streets, amid the tears and groans of Christians, and the joyous shouts of Moslems ; the bells of churches were cast down ; the mosque of Omar purified with rose water, and consecrated afresh to the service of Mahomet ; and the relics and sacred utensils of Christian worship, which had been collected by the Patriarch, were seized, and devoted by Saladin as a gift to the commander of the faithful—the Caliph of Bagdad. These, however, were afterwards redeemed by Richard Cœur de Lion.

The fall of Jerusalem was quickly succeeded by the surrender of other possessions of the Latins in Palestine. Tyre and Tripoli alone baffled the efforts of Saladin. The principality of Antioch felt his power. Twenty-five of its towns submitted to the conqueror, and the city of Antioch itself became tributary to him.

Guy—once king of Jerusalem—was set at liberty, on making over his title to Saladin ; and, with the Grand Master of the Templars—who shared alike in his captivity and release—he repaired to Tyre.

Thus terminated, eighty-eight years after its foundation, the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. The recovery of that kingdom was the object of the third Crusade.

CHAPTER XII.

*The Crusade of Richard of England and
Philip of France.*

[1185 to 1192.]

“ Bound for holy Palestine,
 Nimble we brushed the level brine,
 All in azure steel arrayed,
 O'er the wave our weapons played,
 And made the dancing billows glow;
 High upon the trophied prow,
 Many a warrior-minstrel swung
 His sounding harp, and boldly sung.”

WARTON.

HITHERTO, England had taken no prominent part in the Crusades. The first was indeed accompanied by a few Anglo-Normans, and, in the second, a considerable number of Englishmen joined the army of Louis; but the enthusiasm which had gone far towards depopulating other portions of Europe, was neither national nor wide-spread in the “sea-girt isle.” But the time had now arrived in which England was to mingle more extensively in the religious warfare.

Two years before the fall of Jerusalem, the Patriarch Heraclius, with a considerable number of Knights of the Temple and St. John, arrived in England to beseech the aid of Henry II., against the growing power of the infidel Saladin. Henry

had troubles enough of his own to contend with. Nevertheless, he received the deputation with kindness and deep respect ; but cautiously abstained from committing himself to any immediate or active assistance. Stung with mortification at what he chose to consider cold-heartedness in the cause of Christianity, the Patriarch burst out into gross reproaches against the King. Henry showed signs of anger. "I care not," continued the insolent and proud Patriarch, "do to me as you did to Thomas à Becket. I shall as willingly die in England by your hands, as in Syria by the hands of the infidels ; for you are more cruel than any Saracen." The priest was safe enough, and he probably knew it. The conscience of Henry had been, for fifteen years, sufficiently burdened with the murder of one ecclesiastic, to take away all desire for more priestly blood ; his domestic wretchedness was enough to harden his feelings against the smaller vexations of life ; and Heraclius departed in peace.

Although the promises of Henry to the Patriarch had been sufficiently guarded, and the consequent insult more than sufficiently keen, the King was too deeply imbued with what were, in his day, considered to be truly pious feelings, to dismiss the Crusades from his mind. And when the news of the crowning success of Saladin—the capture of Jerusalem—reached Europe, Henry was ready to respond to the urgent entreaties of Pope Gregory VIII., who called upon all true Christian princes to hasten to the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre.

But the movements of princes are not usually very rapid; first steps, at least, are not taken without due deliberation. Before Henry could with safety leave Europe, it was necessary that peace with France should be established.

A plain between Trie and Gisors, overshadowed by the branches of an ancient elm tree—the unconscious witness of many a parley between French kings and Norman dukes—was fixed upon for the meeting of Henry of England and Philip of France. The Archbishop of Tyre—the eloquent historian of the former Crusades—was present, with many bishops and priests. From his hands the rival monarchs received the cross—the Crusader's badge—while they swore to be “brothers in arms for the cause of God, and never to quit or neglect the duties of a soldier of Christ, either upon land or sea, in town or in the field.” With them, many of the nobility of their several countries took the cross and the oaths. The crosses of England were white; those of France, red.

Fully fraught with the intention of redeeming his pledge, Henry returned to England, and called together a council of the kingdom, at Gidington, in Northamptonshire. A tax was laid upon the country for the expenses of the Crusade, which, however, fell short of Henry's expectations; and he proceeded, without remorse, to extort the deficiency from his Jewish subjects.

But the money thus obtained was never put to its intended use. Fresh dissensions sprang up

between England and France—dissensions fomented, if not caused by Richard, the perverse and rebellious son of Henry, and heir to the throne of England. And when, after the lapse of more than a year, these dissensions were healed at another conference—a conference made remarkable by unusual thunderings and lightnings, which filled the negotiators with superstitious dread—the health and energy of Henry had given way to his numerous and severe trials. On the 6th of July, 1189, died, in almost utter neglect, the unhappy husband of an imprisoned wife,* (the once gay and licentious Eleanora of the second Crusade,) and the more unhappy father of a divided and most rebellious family. He died cursing the day of his birth, and calling down the vengeance of heaven upon the children he left behind him.

Richard, his successor, who had “taken the cross” at the first news of the loss of the Holy City, now hastened to redeem his pledge. After paying some show of respect to the dead father whom he found delight in thwarting while living,† and giving some necessary attention to his affairs in Normandy, Richard passed over to England, secured the royal treasure deposited at Winchester, and made preparations for his coronation. This ceremony took

* At the death of Henry, Eleanora had been imprisoned sixteen years, for encouraging her sons in rebellion, and for afterwards absconding to the court of France.

† It is stated, in Speed's Chronicles, that when Richard entered the Church of Fontevraud, at the burial of Henry, the corpse began to bleed at both nostrils, and ceased not until the young king departed.

place on the 3rd of September, and was “accidentally *hanselled and auspicated*,” says Speed, “by the blood of many Jews (though utterly against the King’s will) who, in a tumult raised by the multitude, were furiously murdered; which, though it was afterwards punished by the laws, might seem a presage that this lion-hearted King should be a special destroyer of the enemies of our Saviour.”

The coronation over, Richard made instant preparation for the Crusade. No one, acquainted with his character, could rationally suspect the young monarch of overabundant zeal for Christianity in the abstract, nor even of the fanatical superstition by which many others had been moved to make war upon the enemies of the church; but the fanaticism of chivalry supplied in him the want of motive arising from feelings of devotion. Confident in his own superiority in bodily strength and the use of arms; burning with ambition to emulate the deeds of former warriors; delighting in bloodshed and violence; and well-versed in the romantic lays of troubadour poets, who sang, with equal zest, the deeds of valour and of love; the Holy Land was, of all others, *the* field to attract the youthful monarch. With constitutional ardour he thrust aside the impediments which quickened rather than impeded his course. He wanted a regent;—he intrusted his crown to his selfish and crafty brother John. He wanted money;—he made merchandise of his kingdom. Royal castles, fortresses, and towns were sold to the highest

bidders.* Places of honour and trust were disposed of in the same way. Bishoprics were filled up, and heavy fees exacted from the new prelates, to swell the treasury, not of the kingdom, but of the Crusade. These may be counted acts of public injustice, but the king of the lion-heart—the *chivalric* Richard—did not stop here. He descended to acts of petty robbery and tyranny,—the end, in his opinion probably, sanctifying the means. The means, at all events, succeeded; and in December, 1189—the year of his accession—Richard sailed from Dover, accompanied by five thousand horsemen, and thirty thousand foot. He landed in Flanders, and proceeded to Rouen,† where his Norman vassals swore to be faithful to him during his absence. The time appointed for the junction of the forces of Richard and Philip of France was Easter, 1190; but midsummer arrived ere the march was actually commenced; and, before we accompany the “sworn brothers in arms in the cause of God,” to the scene of their holy warfare, it is needful to take a glance at their former intercourse, and their present bond of union.

When Philip Augustus, the only son of Louis VII., ascended the throne of France, in 1180, Richard was a younger son, and had little prospect

* Richard declared to those who remonstrated with him on his reckless proceedings, that he would sell London itself, if he could find a purchaser for it.

† It was at Rouen that a zealous monk advised Richard to get rid of three of his *sisters*,—pride, avarice, and luxury. “The first I give to the Templars,” replied the king; “the second to the Christian monks; and the third to my bishops.”

of succeeding to the sovereignty of England. But the death, first of his brother Henry, and afterwards of Geoffrey, altered his position. He not only became heir to the English crown, but was invested with the dukedom of Aquitaine, in right of his mother, the faulty Eleanora. Young as Philip was—for he was a king at fifteen—he was old enough to practise the despicable craft of making strife between others for the sake of personal advantage. He encouraged the elder sons of Henry to revolt, and make war upon their father; and, when they were dead, he commenced the same iniquitous system with Richard, who was older than himself by eight years. He invited him to his court, lived with him on terms of professed affectionate equality, “eating at the same table and out of the same dish by day, and sleeping in the same bed by night ;” and encouraged him to disregard the repeated messages of Henry to return to England. Nor was this all. He incited Richard to that open rebellion against his father, which terminated in the death of the broken-hearted King.

Unhappily, Henry’s conduct towards his son was far from faultless. Richard, when a child, had been affianced to Adelais, or Alice, the infant sister of Philip ; and by an arrangement, not then unusual, Henry had obtained possession both of the person and the dower of the bride.. But the marriage had never been consummated. Excuses, amounting to positive refusals to yield up the princess, had been made by Henry whenever the point was

urged, until it became suspected that poor Alice had been seduced by the King, under promise of marriage, when he should have accomplished a divorce from the imprisoned Eleanora. Nevertheless, Richard had still urged his claim; and the ostensible object of his rebellion was to obtain possession of his bride.

That Philip had fair reason to be incensed against the supposed seducer of his sister, and that Richard had just grounds of complaint against his father, will not be denied; but it may, nevertheless, be justly suspected that virtuous indignation had little share in the proceedings, either of Philip or Richard; and the friendship, strengthened by the vile bonds of unfilial rebellion, was not likely to be lasting in itself, nor to produce lasting benefits. We return to the Crusade.

Vizelai, the scene of Bernard's successful harangue, was the meeting place of the armies of Richard and Philip; and about Midsummer, 1190, they proceeded together to Lyons, where they parted. To avoid the delays and inconveniences of a land journey, the crusading kings determined to proceed to Palestine by sea; and while Philip and his army crossed the Alps with the intention of embarking at Genoa, Richard, with his troops, took the road to Marseilles. They appointed Sicily as their rendezvous. On parting they renewed their protestations of perpetual friendship, and swore, in case of necessity, to defend each other's kingdom.

A short time proved how insincere were all the

oaths and outward shows of friendship which Richard and Philip had so freely taken and made. Scarcely had the two armies entered Sicily, before dissensions broke out, which, however smoothed down at the time, were but the precursors of more bitter enmity, which ceased only with life. The cause of these dissensions had little to do with the Crusade; and, on strict crusading principles, ought not to have interfered with that great object; for, having "taken the cross," all inferior strifes were supposed to be dismissed or deferred. But Richard was, of all others, least likely to be moved by such religious considerations.

His sister Joan was the widow of the former king of Sicily, and had enriched him with a splendid dower. But, at the time of Richard's visit, the crown was usurped, as Richard deemed, by Tancred, a cousin of the late king, who not only held possession of the dower, but detained in captivity the person of Richard's sister.

Richard's first demand upon Tancred was the freedom of his sister; his second, the restoration of her dower. With the first, Tancred complied; with the second, he was both unwilling and unable to comply, and the fiery English monarch proceeded to acts of violence. He seized upon a fortress, in which he placed his sister with a competent garrison; and thrust out the monks from a monastery,* in order that it might contain his

* Richard paid but little regard to monks and other ecclesiastics. On his passage from Marseilles to Sicily, he had occasion to anchor at the

military stores. These proceedings were not viewed with complacency by the Sicilians; and their indignation was heightened by the conduct of the English soldiers, who "strolled licentiously through the city with much lasciviousness," and otherwise indulged in proceedings very far from becoming the avowed soldiers of the cross. Actual conflict with the islanders was the natural result of these acts of violence, during which, the king of France looked on unconcernedly, or even with greater sympathy for the Sicilians than for his allies. At length, after much bloodshed, the town of Messina was taken by Richard, and his banner planted on the walls. This act roused the indignation of Philip. "Does a prince," he exclaimed, "who is my vassal, dare to exhibit his standard over a city in which I am living?" Richard probably felt that he had gone too far; for he caused the obnoxious banner to be lowered, and the town to be committed to the keeping of the Knights of the Temple and St. John;—and the kings, who had all but drawn their swords on each other, again renewed their solemn vows of perpetual friendship,—to be again broken when occasion served. And occasion soon was given.

It was not to the interest of Tancred to remain at enmity with so fierce and warlike an antagonist mouth of the Tiber, and was visited by the cardinal bishop of Ostia, who welcomed him to the patrimony of St. Peter, and urged the payment of certain neglected fees due to Rome. But, instead of complying with the request, Richard burst out into hearty abuse of the Pope and his court, charging it—doubtless to the astonishment and horror of his priestly visitor—with rapacity, simony, and other gross corruptions.

as Richard the Lion-hearted, and a treaty was set on foot to award compensation for the dower of Queen Joan. The money thus obtained was scattered by Richard with thoughtless profusion, yet not without effect; for his liberality increased his popularity among the Crusaders, and, in a corresponding degree, kept alive the jealousy of Philip.

The gift, or compensation, which he had received reconciled Richard to Tancred. They met, embraced, walked together in procession to the cathedral church, exchanged gifts, and lived some time in cordiality. Before they parted, the Sicilian king gave to his new royal friend a letter which he had received from the King of France, in which Richard was called a traitor who intended to break the peace he had concluded, and drive Tancred from his throne and kingdom, and offering to assist Tancred in taking just vengeance upon him. The letter was, to all appearance, genuine, and Richard, enraged at the duplicity of his ally, produced the letter, and charged him with writing it. Philip declared it to be a vile forgery—"But I see how it is," he continued, adroitly turning the cause of complaint against the English king; "you seek a quarrel with me, in order to avoid marrying my sister, whom you are bound by oath to marry. But if you abandon her and marry another, I will be, all my life, the mortal enemy of you and yours." In reply, Richard taunted Philip with the base reports current about Alice and his

own father, and either brought witnesses, or engaged to bring witnesses, to prove her dishonour. Whatever may have been the conviction of Richard in this matter, it is certain that he had no intention of fulfilling the long-delayed contract. Espoused when an infant, he had never wasted much affection on his affianced bride; his quarrel with his father on *that* account had been a pretence, and he was, while in Sicily—Philip probably knew this—contracting an alliance elsewhere. The whole of the proceedings of these two miscalled Christian princes towards each other, forms a lively exemplification of the friendship of the world. But the time for its final dissolution was not yet come, and Philip, abandoning (*for a consideration*) the cause of his rejected sister, left Richard all the freedom of choice he desired.

In March, 1191, after a delay of six months 'in Sicily, Philip set sail for Palestine, and was followed by Richard about a fortnight afterwards. Before the last-mentioned king left Sicily, his policy, or his superstition, perhaps a mixture of both, induced him to make a public confession of his sins, and to submit to the degrading penance of the scourge. It had been well if the proud king had entered into the spirit of the exhortation, "Rend your heart and not your garments, and turn unto the Lord your God." But his history proves that the confession and the scourging left him as they found him, notwithstanding the fond imagination of Hollinshed that "so he became a new man,

fearing God, and delighting to live after his laws."

The departure of Philip was the signal for the approach of the bride of Richard's own choice—Berengaria, the daughter of the king of Navarre. Accompanied by the mother of King Richard—the notorious Eleanora—she had travelled, almost simultaneously with her intended husband, by land from Navarre to Brindisi, there to wait until the way should be cleared for her marriage. The whole scheme had evidently been devised before Richard left Normandy, and while on professed terms of most fraternal alliance with the brother of the now utterly-rejected Alice.

The season of Lent interfered somewhat with the intended nuptials. Berengaria was, therefore, placed under the protection of Richard's sister Joan, and the fleet of Richard—consisting of two hundred ships of various sizes—set sail from Sicily, much, it may be imagined, to the relief of the Sicilians, who had seen enough of both French and English Crusaders.

Richard's voyage was one of peril. Soon after leaving the Sicilian coast, a storm arose, which dispersed his fleet. After a narrow escape from shipwreck, Richard arrived at Rhodes, weatherworn, and anxious for the fate of his sister and Berengaria. Unable, from sickness, to make any immediate personal exertions, the King despatched some of his fastest sailing vessels to look after the missing portion of his fleet; and at length the news reached

him that two of his ships had been cast ashore on the island of Cyprus, that they had been plundered by the people of the island, and the sailors and Crusaders cast into prison. Indignant at the intelligence, Richard declared vengeance against the inhospitable islanders, and made all speed, with all the ships that had joined him, to the rescue of his friends. On the passage he fell in with the ship of Berengaria ; but, scarcely mollified by this circumstance, seeing that it had been refused admittance into the ports of Cyprus, he bore down upon the devoted island, demanding redress for the insults and wrongs he had experienced. The sovereign of the island—Isaac Comnenus, a haughty and tyrannical branch of the imperial family of Greece—responded by putting himself into a posture of defence. The English landed, and a conflict ensued, in which they were speedily victorious—not the less speedily that Isaac was heartily hated by his subjects. Forgetful of his crusading pledge, not to avenge himself in any private quarrel, nor to draw a sword against any inferior enemy until his vow was accomplished, Richard proceeded, with all his natural ardour, still further to humble his fallen foe. He surrounded the island with his ships, took all the maritime towns, besieged the capital of the island, which soon surrendered, and made prisoner the daughter of the king of Cyprus. The man is desolate, indeed, who has no object on which to set his affections, and Isaac, though a tyrant, loved his daughter. His determination and courage forsook

him when he heard of her captivity, and he hastened to the conqueror, to implore her restoration and his own safety. Alas, for the merciful character of the much-vaunted chivalric times!—Richard, the mirror of chivalry, sternly refused to restore the fair captive, and loaded the suppliant with chains. In bitter mockery, he told his humbled enemy that as he seemed to fear the weight of iron bondage, he should be indulged with chains of silver.*

The conquest of Cyprus was followed by the marriage of the conqueror, and the festivities of his soldiers. One troubled and forlorn object must surely have cast a gloom over the rejoicings of the young queen—the daughter of Isaac was given her as a companion.

At length, the fleet of Richard departed from Cyprus. On its way to Acre, a large ship, conveying stores and troops to Saladin, appeared in sight, and was soon surrounded by the smaller vessels of the English Crusaders. This was their first opportunity of measuring their strength against the infidel Saracens, and a fierce conflict took place. But the height of the Saracen ship for some time thwarted the efforts of the Crusaders, until Richard, in a paroxysm of fury, threatened that he would crucify all his soldiers if the rich prize escaped. The threats of their dreaded commander were not usually intentionless; the efforts of the soldiers were redoubled, and the ship was captured. “No mercy to Mahometans,” was the general principle

* Isaac remained in bondage till his death, four years afterwards.

of the Crusades, although some praiseworthy exceptions to the rule occasionally were practised; but Richard had not yet learned to respect the valour of his Saracenic foes. With savage and most ungenerous violence he caused the now unresisting and defenceless captives to be slain and cast overboard, reserving only the commanders, for the sake of expected ransom. This sanguinary deed accomplished, the Crusaders again made way to Acre, which they reached in June, 1191.

While the kings of France and England were settling their private disputes before entering upon the Crusade, Frederic Barbarossa, the emperor of Germany, was very earnestly striving for the restoration of the Latin kingdom of Palestine. On hearing of the fall of Jerusalem, he wrote letters to Saladin, demanding its restoration, and threatening to inundate Asia with his armies in the event of a refusal. These letters produced no effect upon the victorious lord of Egypt, and Frederic prepared to put his threat into execution. Immense numbers of all ranks of his subjects flocked to his standard, and were conducted by him—by the old crusading route—through Hungary and Greece. The march commenced in April, 1189, three months before the death of Henry of England.

But the land journey to Palestine was still a fatal road to the Crusaders. The same treacherous and mean conduct, on the part of the Grecian emperor, that had been dealt out to his predecessors, was experienced by Frederic; and sufferings and priva-

tions, from severity of climate, scarcity of food, and hostile attacks, thinned the ranks of the German army, as they had done those of former Crusades. By the time it reached Antioch, it was reduced to one-tenth of its original number, and Frederic himself had perished by the way.*

His son, the Duke of Suabia, succeeded to the command of the diminished army, which arrived before Acre in the autumn of 1190.

Without attempting a continuous outline of affairs in Palestine, subsequent to the capture of Jerusalem, a connecting link is here necessary. On the arrival of Guy, the ex-king of Jerusalem, at Tyre, after his release from captivity, he found the gates shut against him by Conrad of Montferrat, the brother-in-law of Sybilla, and was compelled to retire. Acre had surrendered to Saladin soon after the battle of Tiberias, and thither Guy proceeded with an army of about 10,000 men, with the intention of taking possession of that strong town. "No faith with Mahometans," was an axiom equally prevalent among the Crusaders with that of "no mercy." Guy had sworn to Saladin not to bear arms against him, but to leave Asia when opportunity served. But the church of Guy had power "to bind and to loose," and his oath pressed lightly upon his conscience, when duly absolved from it by his spiritual guides.

* Frederic—an old man—was tempted to bathe in a mountain stream. The shock produced by the chilling water was too great for his strength; he was taken out almost lifeless, and soon afterwards expired.

But Acre was too important a place to be inefficiently guarded, and too strong a place to be easily captured; and when the Duke of Suabia joined the Christian camp, many months had been vainly expended in the siege. By this time the siege had become a matter of primary importance to both Saladin and his adversaries, and Acre was the gathering point of Saracen and Christian. It was the key of Palestine, and commanded such advantages "that whoever possessed it might easily make himself master of the whole country." The plain that extended from its walls had been the battle-field of many a fierce conflict in days long gone by,* as it has also been in times more modern than those of the Crusaders.

The arrival of the Duke of Suabia with his diminished army, gave new hope to the besiegers, but did not materially add to their successes.† Famine, as of old, pressed heavily upon them; dissensions between Guy and Conrad, for the shadowy sovereignty of Palestine, embittered and divided one portion of the camp against the other; and vice, in all its gross and disgusting forms, disgraced the holy name by which the Crusaders were most unworthily called.

Many sanguinary but undecisive battles were

* That, for instance, against Sisera, Judges iv.; that wherein Saul fell, 1 Sam. xxxi.; and that in which Josiah was defeated and slain, 2 Kings, xxxii.—MICHAELIS.

† The most notable result of the arrival of the Germans was the establishment of a new order of knighthood, called the "Teutonic," formed on the model and for the same charitable purposes as that of the Hospitallers.

fought on the plains of Acre during the progress of this protracted siege; and conflicts were not unfrequent between the naval forces of Saladin and the Crusaders, which hovered round the coast. Saladin himself occupied the heights which surrounded the plain, with a large army, which suffered almost equally with that of the Crusaders.

The arrival of Philip, in April, 1191, and of Richard two months later, gave a new impetus to the apparently interminable operations of the Crusaders. Richard, though seriously ill, exerted himself strenuously, and when unable to stand, or sit on horseback, was carried to the military engines on a mattress. In July, Acre surrendered to their united forces, after a siege of nearly two years.

This success of the Crusaders did little towards the reconciliation of the two factions, into which they were split. The most redeeming feature of the whole affair is the comparative clemency of the victors. No immediate indiscriminate massacres took place. Before the city changed masters, a proclamation was made in the French and English camp, that no one should injure or insult the Turks who quitted the place. The black flag of Saladin was then lowered, and the banners of France and England waved above the walls.

Who was now to be sovereign of Palestine? Philip declared for Conrad, the defender of Tyre, and Richard for Guy, the former king. It scarcely needed this new source of contention to divide the monarchs of England and France, already steeped

as they were, to their heart's core, in animosities and jealousies. Their disputes had commenced almost on the first day of Richard's landing; they had been heard above the din and confusion of the siege, and now they were renewed with increased violence. At length a compromise was agreed upon, by which Guy was permitted to retain the unreal title of King of Jerusalem during his life, after which the perpetual sovereignty was to descend to Conrad and his heirs.

But this compromise tended very little to soften the asperities of Richard and Philip. The presence of Berengaria—the general popularity of Richard*—his superiority in deeds of personal prowess—each and all of these matters rankled in the heart of his rival, until, unable longer to endure the infliction, he announced his intention of returning to Europe, under the plea of bodily infirmity. His plea was admitted; but before he returned, Richard required from him an oath that he would not make war upon any of the territories of his allies until forty days after the return of their king; and reminded him, that though his own health required so speedy a change, it was necessary that his army should remain to assist in the yet uncompleted work of conquest. Eventually, the royal deserter—for as such he was generally considered—agreed to leave behind him ten thousand soldiers under

* Robert of Gloucester informs us, in his most unmusical rhyming, that,
“King Philip was annoyed there at the thing,
That there was not of him a word, but all of Richard the king.”

the immediate command of the Duke of Burgundy, who was, for the time, to regard Richard as his superior in authority.

The departure of Philip was closely followed by a deed of cruel atrocity, the guilt of which must rest upon the memory of Richard Cœur de Lion. The treaty with Saladin, before the surrender of Acre, provided for the safety of the Mahometan population, on condition of the restoration of the cross, formerly taken possession of by Saladin, and the payment of two hundred thousand pieces of gold within the space of forty days. This term was near its expiration, and neither cross nor money had appeared. Added to this, a rumour—but only a rumour—was spread through the camp of the Crusaders, that Saladin had put to death his Christian captives. The moment this rumour spread, shouts of vengeance arose from the soldiery, and it was with difficulty they could be kept from instant retaliation on *their* captives.* Nevertheless—and this much must be said in favour of Richard and his co-leaders—the day of payment was suffered to expire before the penalty was demanded. Then—“No mercy to Mahometans!”—the devoted captives were led out beyond the encampment and butchered by savage soldiery, under the eye and direction of Burgundy on the part of France, and Richard on that of England. The number of victims amounted to nearly three thousand. Those only were spared

* Several of the officers of the army, who opposed these vengeful demonstrations, were killed by their own soldiers.

who could hold out hopes of valuable ransom.* In retaliation, Saladin slew all his Christian prisoners.

The crusading army was now required to proceed to further exertions. Already, to the sanguine Richard, the way to Jerusalem was open, and its second deliverance all but certain. But by this time his popularity had greatly declined, and inveterate enmity in the minds of some had taken the place of admiration. Conrad, the disappointed rival of Guy, could not look with much complacency upon the grand opposer of his claims. The Knights Templars, who had chosen to adopt the cause of Conrad, shared in his feelings of enmity, as did also a considerable portion of the crusading army. The Duke of Burgundy was not well pleased to acknowledge as a superior the rival of the King of France, and the French soldiery were not very willing to bend to the will of an English king. The Duke of Austria—one of the German Crusaders—had *his* grounds of private hatred against the island monarch, for, at the taking of Acre, having placed his own banner upon one of the towers, Richard had torn it down, and insultingly cast it over the walls. In short, although the bravery of the gigantic monarch was beyond dispute, and although, thus far, he was acknowledged to be the fittest leader of the crusading forces, his impetuous temper, and his disregard of the feelings of others, had been widely felt and secretly resented. Neither were the

* The number of captives thus put to death is variously stated. One historian reduces it to sixteen hundred, and another raises it to five thousand.

common soldiers very willing to resign the luxuries and the vicious indulgences of Acre for the discomforts and perils of further warfare. Still, it was indisputable that much remained to be done before the war was ended—that Saladin was yet at the head of a large army, with the immense resources of the East at his command—and that Jerusalem was yet in the hands of the infidels. With many sighs, therefore, but with firm steps, the army broke up their quarters and marched onward towards the Holy City, keeping as much as possible within sight of their provision-laden ships.

From August to November, the Crusaders proceeded on their march until they reached Ramula—the Arimathea of Scripture—distant only fifteen miles from Jerusalem. During this toilsome progress they had been harassed, day and night, by the vigilant Saladin, who, with an army superior to their own, hung upon their rear, attacked them in flank, and, as occasion served, laid waste the country in advance of them. Once, and only once, the two armies had been brought to a general engagement, which gave victory to the Crusaders, but produced little permanent advantage to them.

During this march, too, the town of Jaffa (Joppa) had surrendered to the Crusaders; but it was “the gain of a loss;” for the French barons, seconded by almost the entire army, insisted on restoring the fortifications of the town; and, this

point yielded, so gave themselves up to sloth and other sensual indulgences as to allow the enemy time to rally after the late defeat. Richard himself was not insensible to pleasure. As eager in the chase as in the field, and finding no better employment, he threw off his falcons, and on one occasion pursued the quarry so far as to fall in with a party of the enemy, from whom he with difficulty escaped.

Another notable incident in this march was a train of negotiations entered into by Richard with Saladin, while the Crusaders were yet at Jaffa, in which the Saracen offered to the Christians that part of Palestine spreading from the Jordan to the sea, on condition of peacefully retaining the other part. Saphadin, the brother of Saladin, was the negotiator, and so won upon the friendly feelings of Richard, that but for the opposition of the army the treaty might have been concluded. As it was, the negotiations failed; and, the fortifications of Jaffa at length completed, the Crusaders proceeded to Ramula.

But now more inveterate enemies even than Saladin attacked the camp. Famine and pestilence made havoc among the soldiers, desertion thinned their ranks, and dissensions again began to prevail in the councils of their leaders. Instead, therefore, of marching straight to Jerusalem—now almost within sight—Richard was compelled to retreat. Ascalon was chosen for the winter quarters of the army; and, by something like mutual consent, hos-

tilities were suspended, for Saladin dismissed many of his troops to their homes.

Richard was now weary of a war to which he could see no hope of a favourable termination;—weary, too, of the petty jealousies which divided his councils;—and weary, because of his own exceeding fickleness of disposition.

At Ascalon the smouldering quarrel of the Duke of Austria with the English King burst out into undisguised rebellion and violence, and received the last impulse, the effects of which were felt by Richard in his subsequent captivity. The fortifications of the town were dilapidated, and it was needful to restore them; Richard, ardent in this as in every thing else while the disposition lasted, worked on the walls like a common mason. His example was followed by the whole army. Princes and ecclesiastics thought it no dishonour to toil in emulation of their leader;—all but the Duke of Austria, who, in reply to the remonstrances of Richard, scornfully said that he was neither a mason nor a carpenter. Irritated beyond all ordinary control by this retort, the angry King, it is said, struck or kicked—perhaps both—the proud idler, and ordered him to leave the camp—

“—— With voice full steep,
‘Home, shrew! coward! and sleep!
Come no more, in no wise,
Never oft in God’s service.’” *

This unmanly, perhaps we should rather say un-knightly, violence of Richard—whether or not it

* Ellis’s Specimens of Metrical Romances.

exactly reached to kicks and blows—tended still further to alienate his fellow-leaders; for though the supreme authority in the army was his, the command was more nominal than real. Each chief was, in a manner, independent; and all were sufficiently jealous of any interference with their own wills and spontaneous actions. This, indeed, was, more or less, the great military fault of all the Crusades, and tended more than any other single circumstance to produce failure. The ill-treatment of the Duke of Austria was quickly followed by the defection of the French army, which returned to Acre. The Duke of Burgundy had previously withdrawn.

In the spring of 1192, instead of following up his successes of the previous year, Richard was compelled to return to Acre, which he found a very hotbed of strife, arising from the still rankling dispute respecting the sovereignty of Palestine. In the army were many soldiers from Pisa and Genoa. The former espoused the cause of Guy and Richard; the latter, that of Conrad. Commercial jealousies embittered—perhaps guided—their political differences; and open conflicts in the streets of Acre between these free citizens of Italy were of no unusual occurrence. In vain did Richard strive, with evident sincerity, to allay the bitter feeling. Conrad rejected his overtures, and retired to his town of Tyre, drawing after him many of the French Crusaders. Richard's distress of mind was now great, and news from England added to his uneasiness;

his throne, so wrote his mother Eleanora, was in danger from the unprincipled conduct of his brother John. The object of the King was now to return to Europe with all speed; but, before he did so, he once more opened friendly communication with Saladin. He asked only two things:—the restoration of the cross, and the possession of Jerusalem. These terms were refused. Saladin returned an answer that Jerusalem was dear to Mahometans as well as to Christians; and that he could not be instrumental in such idolatry as the worship of a piece of wood. Nevertheless, the messages which passed between the two great leaders were conceived in a spirit worthy of their reputation;* and before the negotiations were closed, Richard proposed a grand consolidation of Mahometan and Christian interests by the marriage of his own sister Joan with the brother of Saladin. And whatever were the sentiments of the proposed bride —probably they were not consulted—Saladin and his brother were not averse to the proposal. But the priests on either side so raised their voices against the monstrous innovation, that the subject was dismissed. But although these attempts at treaty, like all former ones, came to nothing, Richard still held to his determination to return to England. He waited only until the choice of his

* Saladin and Richard appear to have felt mutual respect for each other, notwithstanding their hostility. When Richard was ill, Saladin sent him presents of pears, peaches, and other fruits, together with snow water—a luxury only to be appreciated by a fevered palate in a scorching climate.

successor was made. The candidates were Guy and Conrad. The former had few supporters; and Richard consented to the general voice of the army,—bestowing upon Guy, as some recompence for his disappointment, the island of Cyprus.

In the height of the rejoicings of the Crusaders, and while preparations were making for the coronation of Conrad, the ambitious prince was slain by assassins in the streets of Tyre. Public indignation pointed to Richard as the instigator of the foul deed; but, with greater probability of truth, suspicions fell likewise upon a mysterious fraternity of Mahometans, banded together under the implicit control of a chief, known familiarly by the Crusaders as “The Old Man of the Mountain.” This strange and most criminal association had long existed in the heart of the Mahometan dominions, practising secret and obscene rites, indulging in unhallowed enjoyments, and so staining their hands with secret murder as to obtain and deserve the appellation of “The Assassins.” Into the particulars of their history, so far as they have since come to light, it is needless to enter. The reader who is acquainted with the Secret Tribunal of Germany, as it flourished in the fifteenth century, and then known and feared as “The Holy Vehme,” will give the somewhat similar and equally dark combination of “The Assassins” credit for the murder of Conrad, without the intervention of Richard, especially as it was well known that the victim had imprudently quarreled with “The Old Man of the Mountain.”

Nevertheless, it was to the interest, or it fed the rancour of Richard's enemies to attribute the assassination to him, as it furnished them with a pretext to future bad faith.

Confusion, tumult, selfish scheming, and the necessary adoption of new plans, followed the death of Conrad. The French in Tyre demanded of the widow of Conrad the possession of the town. She refused to yield it, and took up arms in defence of her rights. A new and more amicable claimant appeared, in the person of Henry of Champagne, the nephew of Richard, who sought and obtained her hand in marriage. The union was celebrated after a short widowhood; and, with her hand, the bridegroom received the imaginary crown of Jerusalem.

New messengers arrived from England in May, urging upon Richard the increasing dangers of his dominions, arising not only from the selfishness of his regent, but also from the perfidy of Philip, his former ally and brother in arms. Well might Richard have exclaimed, "Put not your trust in princes!" This news reached him after he had made known his determination to spend another year in Palestine, and had led the crusading army eastward, as far as the valley of Hebron.

Richard now hesitated. His thoughts naturally turned homewards; but his wishes, and those of the whole army, were towards Jerusalem; and they still marched onwards, and reached Bethlehem. The nearer they approached, the greater appeared

to be the terror of the Mahometans, and Saladin was alarmed for the safety of Jerusalem. But at this moment, when the Holy City and Sepulchre seemed really within the grasp of the Crusaders, it was deemed impolitic to advance. With feelings of bitter regret, the King of England finally turned back from the town of Bethlehem. It is said that a friend led him to a hill which commanded a view of Jerusalem, but that Richard covered his face with a shield, declaring that he was not worthy to behold a city which he could not conquer.

The retreat of the army was conducted with but small order and discipline; and Saladin lost no time in taking advantage of the confusion and despondency of the soldiers. Scarcely had Richard reached Acre with the main body of the Crusaders, when Saladin fell upon Jaffa, and wrested it, all but the citadel, from the hands of its Christian defenders. Richard hastened to the rescue; and the battle of Jaffa is among the most celebrated of all the various victories of the Crusaders. The King performed prodigies of strength and valour. With his heavy battle-axe—the head of which weighed twenty pounds—he dashed down the lighter-armed and slighter-built Turks like the very demon of carnage. None could withstand the weight of his arm, and the impetuosity of his attack. Even his foes were filled with admiration at his exhibitions of brute courage. Saphadin—who had once nearly become his brother-in-law—seeing him dismounted in the heat of the fray, sent

him two war-horses, on one of which Richard rode during the remainder of the engagement. It was by the energy of his proceedings in battle, and the strength and daring he evinced, that Richard won for himself a renown in Asia which outlived himself; so that Turkish and Saracen mothers, it is said, mingled the name of the great king with their maternal threats, and the warriors of the East were wont to rebuke their startled horses by saying, “Do you think that King Richard is on your track?”

“ While awed to silence by the wondrous tale,
E’en at thy name, Arabia’s son grew pale;
Or, if his fiery steed, with startled tread,
Shrunk from the thicket’s pathless side in dread,
He feared, lest, seen amid the twilight shade,
Thy form had crossed him in the tangled glade.”*

His defeat at Jaffa induced the assent of Saladin to terms of treaty which before would have been inadmissible. A truce for three years and eight months† was agreed upon; the fort of Ascalon was to be destroyed; Jaffa and Tyre, with all the fortresses and country between them, were to remain in the hands of the Crusaders; and pilgrims to Jerusalem were to be protected from violence, extortion and persecution, at all times and seasons. The last-mentioned article in the treaty was speedily acted upon, for great numbers of the Crusaders immediately prepared for pilgrimage to the Holy City and Sepulchre. Richard was not

* Oxford Prize Poem, by J. Anstee.

† Some say that the truce was for three years, three months, three weeks, three days, and three hours.

one of these. In October, 1192, he set sail, with his own family and followers, from the shores of Palestine; and when only the dim outline of the mountains of Lebanon could be seen from ship-board, he stretched out his hands, fervently commanding the Holy Land to the keeping of God, and praying that life and health might be spared him, so that, at some more auspicious time, he might rescue it from the hands of infidels.

This time never arrived. The dispersion of his fleet by a storm; his own adventures by sea and land; his disguise and recognition; his long captivity by the ungenerous Duke of Austria; his deliverance; and his early death,—are incidents probably familiar to the reader, and may fairly be omitted here.

Saladin did not long survive the departure of his crusading foes. He died in 1193, having been nineteen years master of Syria, and twenty-two years lord of Egypt. Under him, the discord between Turk and Saracen—which had heretofore been the great support of the Latin kingdoms in Palestine—was to a very considerable degree healed, and the distinction between them lost sight of. To this circumstance may be ascribed his success. His character has been described as “a compound of dignity and baseness, the greatness and littleness of man. As the Mahometan hero of the third holy war, he proved himself a skilful general, and a valiant soldier. He hated the Christian cause, for he was a zealous Mahometan; and

his principles authorised him to make war upon the enemies of his prophet. But human sympathy mollified the rigour of his enthusiasm, and when his foes were suppliant he often forgot the sternness of Islamism. He was fond of religious exercises and studies; but his mind was so much above the age in which he lived, that he never consulted soothsayers and astrologers. He had gained the throne by blood, artifice, and treachery; but though ambitious, he was not tyrannical; he was mild in his government; the friend and dispenser of justice. Eager for the possession, but indifferent to the display of power—thinking more of the substance than the pageantry of grandeur—he was simple in his manners, and unostentatious in his deportment. He attempted by conciliation and tuition to change the religious sentiments of the Egyptian Fatimites [to those of the Abassides]; but the intolerant spirit of his religion would sometimes appear; the politician was lost in the zealot, and he inflicted punishment on those who presumed to question any of the dogmas of a Mahometan's creed.”* In conclusion it may be added, that the character of Saladin shows in no unfavourable contrast to those of his miscalled Christian adversaries, who, professing to take the word of God as their guide, and Christ as their example, acted in direct opposition to both, “serving divers lusts and pleasures, living in malice and envy, hateful and hating one another.”

* Mills's History of the Crusades.

CHAPTER XIII.

[1196 to 1291.]

Summary of Later Crusades.

THE termination of the truce with Saladin completes the full century of the crusading expeditions to which this volume has been mainly devoted. But another hundred years passed away before the crusading spirit was finally put to rest, or merged into more hopeful projects. A comparatively few pages will suffice for following up the history of the Crusades to their close.

The year 1196, in which the treaty of peace expired, found the Christian and Mahometan population of Palestine living in mutual amity. But it did not accord with the policy of the papal government that this friendship should be perpetual, and preparations had already been made for a *fourth Crusade*. To the Knights of St. John, and Pope Celestine III., the credit, or the odium, is especially due for the re-introduction of confusion and strife in the Holy Land.

The fourth was almost entirely a German Crusade. Its patron was Henry VI., of Germany,* and neither Philip nor Richard took any part in it. In one respect, it was also a more ecclesiastical

* Eldest son and successor of Frederic Barbarossa.

Crusade than any that had preceded it, for a large proportion of its leaders were prelates; "so that here," to use the words of Fuller,* "was an episcopal army, which might have served for a national synod; insomuch that one truly might here have seen the church militant." In its passage through Hungary, this army was joined by Margareta, the sister of Philip of France, and the widowed queen of Hungary, who, on the death of her husband, had vowed to spend the remainder of her life in pilgrimage.

The arrival of these Crusaders spread dismay throughout Palestine. The Latins had reason to fear that the possessions they still held would be disturbed rather than strengthened and enlarged by their brethren in arms; the Mahometans had not recovered the confusion into which they had been thrown by the death of their great leader, Saladin, and the consequent sub-division of his kingdom; and both Christians and Mahometans were disheartened by the effects of a most severe famine.

The Crusaders arrived at Acre, and, disregarding the remonstrances of the resident Christians, commenced hostilities against the Saracens, who, on their part, banishing all civil feuds, united themselves under Saphadin, the experienced general, and brother of their former leader. The first military event in this Crusade was favourable to the Mahometans. They took Jaffa, destroyed its fortifica-

* The Historie of the Holy Warre.

tions, and put thousands of its inhabitants to the sword. But a subsequent battle, fought on the plains of Tyre and Sidon, terminated in the utter rout of the Saracen army, and their abandonment of their recent conquest, together with the important possessions of Laodicea, Gabala, Sidon, and Beritus,—thus leaving the entire sea-coast in the hands of the Crusaders. But in attempting to push their conquests on towards Jerusalem, the Crusaders, in their turn, were ignominiously defeated, and driven back to Tyre. Dissensions followed. The Germans accused the Palestine Christians of cowardice, and were themselves charged with domineering insolence. Before this feud could be healed, another engagement took place with Saphadin, in which the Crusaders were victorious, though the death of their principal leader, the Duke of Saxony, and of the son of the Duke of Austria, damped their rejoicings. Shortly afterwards, the news of the death of Henry of Germany broke up the confederacy; for the greater number of the leaders, feeling it to be their interest to be present at the choice of his successor, returned to Europe, leaving an army of 20,000 men behind them. These retired to Jaffa, relaxed their discipline, rioted when they should have been watching, and, while celebrating the feast of St. Martin, were surprised by a Turkish army, and utterly destroyed.

This massacre closed the fourth Crusade. The same year (1197) ended the life of Henry of Champagne, the nominal King of Jerusalem. His

widow, Isabella, then formed an alliance with Almeric of Lusignan, the successor of Guy, king of Cyprus, thus uniting the crowns of Cyprus and Jerusalem.

The *fifth* Crusade introduces us to another enthusiastic preacher named Fulk, who, in the year 1198, following in the steps of Peter and Bernard, roused the passions of the multitude by pointing to the desolations of Palestine. In the same year, Innocent III. succeeding to the papal throne, seconded by his authority the exhortations of the preacher, and laid a tax upon the clergy, to the amount of one-fortieth part of their revenues, for the expenses of the Crusade.

France and Flanders, assisted by the Venetians, were principally engaged in this Crusade. But the army stopped short of the design on which it was forwarded. By a series of unexpected events, the city of Constantinople became the prey of the Crusaders, who treated the fallen Greeks with as little respect or compassion as they would have done their Mahometan foes. The city was plundered—its public edifices were fired—its rich collections of statuary destroyed with a barbaric zeal—and a Latin noble, Baldwin, count of Flanders, was elected to fill the throne of the degraded empire. These startling occurrences occupied the time which would otherwise have been employed in less profitable and more dangerous attempts at conquest in Asia; and left little inclination to the leaders of the army to pursue the more legitimate object of

their Crusade. All thoughts, indeed, of proceeding to Palestine were abandoned ; and the Pope, too well satisfied with the advantages gained to the papacy by the conquest of Constantinople, was easily induced to absolve the Crusaders from the spiritual maledictions to which they were liable.

While the conquest of Constantinople engrossed the attention of Europe, the land of Palestine rested from the desolations of warfare. But the tranquillity enjoyed was not that of plenty and security. A most severe famine in Egypt, consequent upon the failure of the inundation of the Nile, and a terrific earthquake, which extended its ravages throughout Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia, spread distress and consternation all around. By their convenient situation for commerce, the Christian population were saved from the utmost horrors* of the first dreadful scourge ; but the second admitted of no abatement. Acre, Tyre, and Tripoli, together with Damascus, were laid, more or less, in ruins ; and the fears of the population interpreted the wide-spread convulsion as a precursor of the judgment of the last day.

The depression incident to these combined afflictions, together with the divided state of his empire, induced Saphadin to close with a proposal of truce for six years with the conquerors of Constantinople,

* The severity of the famine in Egypt, in 1200 and 1201, may be judged from the fact, that women were executed in Cairo for devouring their own children, for want of other sustenance. Surely, when a mother "can thus forget her sucking child," and forbear to "have compassion on the son of her womb," distress must have reached the outermost bounds of endurance.

and peaceful pilgrimages to Jerusalem took the place of hostile attempts at its re-subjugation.

This truce had not expired when, in 1206, both Almeric and Isabella, the titular sovereigns of Jerusalem, died, and a new monarch was sought and found in the court of France, in the person of John de Brienne, who, for accepting the shadowy crown and its perplexities, was rewarded with the hand of Mary, the daughter of Queen Isabella and her former husband, Conrad of Tyre.

In 1210 the new king arrived at Acre, was married and crowned. But before these events took place Saphadin had offered to renew the truce, with some additional advantages to the Christians. Good policy, as well as true Christian principle, would have closed with this proposal; but neither policy nor Christianity have much to do with reckless ambition. The Knights of St. John and the Teutonic Knights were, indeed, favourable to the terms proposed; but the haughty Templars, together with most of the clergy, were averse to peace on any terms, and the proposal was rejected.

The new king, therefore, found himself in the arena of strife when he entered the Holy Land; and, though personally experienced in war, with but small means of contending with the power of Mahometanism. Not more than three hundred knights had accompanied him from Europe, for the Pope (Innocent III.) had turned the crusading spirit into another channel by proclaiming a holy war of extermination against the Albigenses, in the

south of France; and, to adopt the language of Fuller, “the place being nearer, the service shorter, the work less, the wages the same with the voyage into Syria, many entered themselves in this employment and neglected the other.” *

Reverses quickly followed the accession of John de Brienne, until he was compelled to write to the Pope for succour, informing him that the kingdom of Jerusalem had dwindled down to the possession of two or three towns, and that the dissensions of the Mahometans alone kept the Latin power from entire annihilation.

This appeal was effectual. A *sixth* Crusade was proclaimed by Pope Innocent, and preached by Robert de Courcon, a former assistant of Fulk, and a fellow-student of the Pope. Before the departure of the expedition, Innocent III. died; but his successor, Honorius III., entered fully into the project, and, in 1216, an army of Hungarians and Germans landed at Acre. After committing numberless atrocities in Palestine, without attaining to much success, these marauders were joined, in 1218, by a fresh body of Crusaders from the north of Germany. The leaders now determined to carry the war into the heart of the Saracenic empire by making Egypt their battle-field, and they proceeded to lay siege to Damietta, which was considered the key of Egypt.

The siege of this strong town lasted eighteen months, during which time the Crusaders were

* *Historie of the Holy Warre.*

reinforced by an armament from Europe, consisting of two hundred thousand of the choicest troops of Italy, France, and England.

Damietta at length surrendered, and the Crusaders took possession of the conquered town. It was a scene of misery—"a vast charnel-house. Of a population which, at the beginning of the siege, consisted of more than seventy thousand souls, three thousand only remained. The conquerors marched through a pestilential vapour. The streets, the mosques, and the houses were strewed with dead bodies. The rich and the poor, the master and the servant, lay, with no reference to distinction. The children at the breast had drawn the last remnants of life from their mothers, and were crying for sustenance. The clergy consigned them to the Christian women, but in most cases the cries of the infants had been the last struggles of nature, and they suffered the fate of their parents." *

The triumph of the Crusaders was but short. Rejecting all overtures made by the Saracens for peace, and dreaming of nothing less than the entire subjugation of the Mahometan states, the more ardent among them commenced a march to Cairo. A more fatal resolution could not have been taken. Watching their opportunity, the Saracens opened the sluices of the Nile, inundated the camp of the enemy—enclosing them as in a net, and sweeping away their tents and baggage, so that they could

* Mills's History of the Crusades.

neither advance nor retreat—and compelled them to purchase their safety by the promised surrender of their hard-won conquest. Thus, after eight months' possession, Damietta was lost to the Crusaders, who returned to Europe an impoverished and diminished band, leaving their brethren in Palestine to meet the inflamed hostilities of their enemies.

“Pride goeth before destruction.” Once and again it was in the power of these Crusaders to secure, by peaceful negotiations, the possession of all the professed objects of their expedition. The kingdom of Palestine—the city of Jerusalem—the restoration of the wood of the cross—the liberation of all prisoners: these were the liberal offers of their foes—offers which were rejected with scorn. They had now, therefore, to mourn, not only the actual losses they had sustained, but the advantages they had sacrificed by their overgrasping ambition.

The year 1227 witnessed the Crusade of Frederic II. of Germany,* in the pontificate of Gregory IX., the successor of Honorius. Frederic had been severely censured by Honorius for not leading his armies in the former Crusade; and the bad results of that expedition had been attributed to this neglect. Subsequently, he had married the daughter of John de Brienne, who was willing to cede to his son-in-law his right to the unreal crown of Jerusalem. Urged, therefore, by the exhortation of the Pope, and by personal ambition, he assembled an army at Brundisium (Brindisi), and embarked

* Grandson of Frederic Barbarossa.

thence for the Holy Land. But pestilence thinned the number of his soldiers, and weakened the strength of those who remained, and Frederic himself did not escape the disease. After three days' sailing he found himself compelled to return. These were the high days of pontifical authority. "The man of sin" was fully revealed, "opposing and exalting himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped." Supreme dominion over all the principalities and powers of the world was claimed by the so-called successors of Peter the Apostle, and their insolent domination was meekly borne by the most powerful princes of Christendom. The return of the invalid Emperor enraged the proud Pope beyond all reasonable bounds. He excommunicated the offender; laid his country under the ban of an interdict; and subsequently forbade the Emperor to attempt the Crusade until the anger of the church should be turned away.

Notwithstanding this, Frederic re-embarked at Brundisium in the following year, and was loaded with excommunication upon excommunication for this act of unfilial daring. More than this, the Pope, lashed to madness by the fury of his wrath, "exerted himself to defeat the object of the Crusade, urged his soldiers to betray him, and instigated the Patriarch of Jerusalem to pronounce an interdict against every place occupied by Frederic."

Nevertheless, Frederic did more for the cause of the Crusades than any other single leader who had preceded him. He concluded a truce of ten years

with the Sultan of Egypt, and obtained bloodless possession of Jerusalem, Jaffa, Bethlehem, and Nazareth. "He repaired to Jerusalem; but no hosannas welcomed his approach,—no religious ceremonies were performed in the churches during his stay,—even the German prelates preferred their spiritual to their temporal allegiance."*

Undeterred by these symptoms of disaffection, the Emperor, attended only by his courtiers and the Teutonic Knights, entered the Church of the Sepulchre. As the Patriarch had refused to place the crown upon the head of an excommunicated man, Frederic took the crown from the altar, and, with his own hands, performed the ceremony. From Jerusalem he repaired to Acre, to meet with an equally mortifying reception, and eventually returned to Europe.

During the Crusade of the excommunicated Emperor, a treacherous plan was formed for betraying him into the hands of the Sultan of Egypt, to whom a letter was sent conveying the intelligence. But, more true to the principles of honour than the despicable traitors, the infidel despatched to Frederic the letter he had received, while he exclaimed to those around him, "See the fidelity of these Christian dogs!"

Another Crusade, undertaken in 1239 by the French and English, terminated, after many fluctuations of success, in the establishment of the Christians in the greater part of Palestine.

* Mills.

Prospects of peace and quiet now seemed to dawn upon the distracted land ; but these hopes were formed only to be disappointed. After two short years of rest, a new enemy appeared, threatening to overwhelm Saracen, Turk, and Christian alike, in one universal ruin. This enemy was a vast migratory body of Korasmians, who, driven from their native homes, on the east of the Caspian Sea, by the Moguls of Tartary, rushed headlong upon Syria and Palestine. For a time, laying aside their ancient hereditary and religious animosities, both Saracen and Christian united their efforts to stem the dreaded torrent of aggression. But they strove in vain. Jerusalem was one of the first trophies of the barbarian power and cruelty ; "and in the pillage of the city, in the profanation of the Holy Sepulchre, the Latins confess and regret the modesty and discipline of the Turks and Saracens."*

These disastrous affairs led to the two Crusades of Louis IX. of France. In the first of these, (commenced in 1248†) the French king, after passing a winter at Cyprus, proceeded to Egypt, re-took Damietta, and proceeded towards Cairo. On this road, already so fatal to the Crusades, victory deserted him. Famine and pestilence ravaged his camp, and, in an attempted retreat, his army was attacked and overpowered by the Saracens, and himself taken prisoner. Louis himself was treated

* Gibbon.

† In the preceding year, the Korasmians had been defeated and dispersed by the Egyptians, by whom they had at first been encouraged to invade Palestine, and with whom they were afterwards, for a time, united.

with respect, and afterwards liberated on the payment of a ransom ; but his army was almost annihilated. Twenty thousand were taken captive, of whom all below the rank of knighthood had to embrace the alternative,—Islamism or death.

After his liberation, Louis departed to Palestine, and employed himself in fortifying the few towns yet held by the Latins. In 1254, he returned to Europe, overwhelmed with sadness and despondency, relieved only by occasional glimpses of hope that he might yet be deemed worthy, in some future day, of success in the Holy Land.

Through the vicissitudes of sixteen years the king of France never probably lost sight of this, the great object of his ambition ; and, in 1270, he again set sail for Palestine, accompanied by Edward of England (afterwards Edward I.), and a numerous and well-disciplined army of French and English soldiers. The condition of Palestine was now one of deep gloom. The long smouldering jealousies of the Templars and Hospitallers had broken out into open warfare, in which almost every knight of the former order had been slain. Cesarea, Jaffa, and Antioch had fallen into the hands of the sovereign of Egypt, and forty thousand of their inhabitants had been murdered by the conquerors, who boasted of their intention to exterminate the remnants of Christianity in the East.

Animated by a sincere desire to restore the worship of the Redeemer in the desecrated courts of Jerusalem, Louis—more disinterested and pure

in his motives, and more truly religious, perhaps, than any who had preceded him in the blood-stained path of the Crusades—set forth on his mission. His fleet was driven into Sardinia, and he was tempted to turn aside from the main purpose of his voyage, to assist in the propagation of Christianity in Africa. He landed near the ruins of Carthage, and led his army onward to Tunis. It was his last expedition. Pestilence breathed upon his camp, and Louis himself fell a victim to the disease. His last words indicated the ruling desire of his mind; it may be believed that they indicated more, —a well-founded desire to depart and to be with Christ;—“I will enter thy house,” exclaimed the dying monarch; “I will worship in thy sanctuary.”

The death of Louis dispersed the allied army. Of upwards of 60,000 soldiers, only 1,000 were found willing to follow Prince Edward to Palestine. The small number of his followers did not daunt the spirit of one who had a fearlessness of temper not dissimilar to that of Cœur de Lion, and who had declared that if all his soldiers should desert him, he would go to Acre, attended only by his groom.

The arrival of Edward at Acre, in 1271, with his small army, gave general joy to the dispirited inhabitants of Palestine. Thousands flocked to his standard; and with these reinforcements he delivered Acre from the danger of a siege, took possession of Nazareth, and soon afterwards surprised and defeated a Turkish army. Here his course of

victory closed. The heat of the eastern summer debilitated the crusading army, and Edward himself was laid on a bed of sickness, and one that nearly proved to him the bed of violent death. Under pretence of delivering letters to the prince, a hired assassin was admitted to his chamber, and attempted to stab him with a poisoned dagger. The watchful and active invalid evaded the full force of the blow, leaped from his couch, and grappled with the wretch, whom he killed in the struggle. But Edward was grievously wounded, and his life remained some time in danger. That his cure was effected by the fond devotion of his wife Eleanora, in sucking the poison from his wound, is "*a pretty story*," which may, or may not be fabulous. Let us agree with the old historian, Fuller, whose sayings it is a pleasure to quote:—"Pity it is that so pretty a story should not be true; and sure he shall get himself no credit who undertaketh to confute a passage so sounding to the honour of the sex. Yet can it not stand with what others have written."

The Crusade of Edward, though short, was not without beneficial effect to the resident Christians of Palestine. The respect commanded by his valour and judgment—in which latter quality Edward was far superior to his uncle, Richard Cœur de Lion—induced an offer of peace from the Sultan of Egypt, with which the young prince gladly closed. In 1272 he withdrew his army from Palestine, and returned to England.

Thus terminated the last Crusade. Thence-

forward the Christians of Palestine were left to their own resources. These resources were inadequate to keep together the few relics of empire which yet remained;—the more so that these relics were still further weakened by internal dissensions. In no long space of time, “the whole existence of the Franks was confined to the city and colony of Acre.”*

The graphic language of the historian just quoted may be employed to describe the last struggles, and the final downfall of the kingdom first founded by Godfrey of Bouillon.

“After the loss of Jerusalem, Acre, which is distant about seventy miles, became the metropolis of the Latin Christians. The population was increased by the incessant streams of pilgrims and fugitives; in the pauses of hostility, the trade of the east and west was attracted to this convenient station; and the market could offer the produce of every clime and the interpreters of every tongue. But in this conflict of nations every vice was propagated and practised—nor could the abuse of religion be corrected by the discipline of law. The city had many sovereigns, and no government;—seventeen tribunals exercised the power of life and death; every criminal was protected in the adjacent quarter; and the perpetual jealousy of the nations often burst forth in acts of violence and blood. Some adventurers, who disgraced the ensign of the cross, compensated their want of pay by the plunder

* Gibbon.

of the Mahometan villages; nineteen Syrian merchants, who traded under the public faith, were despoiled and hanged by the Christians; and the denial of satisfaction justified the arms of the Sultan Khalil. He marched against Acre at the head of 60,000 horse and 140,000 foot. After a siege of thirty-three days, the double wall was forced by the Moslems; the principal tower yielded to their engines; the Mamalukes made a general assault; the city was stormed; and death or slavery was the lot of 60,000 Christians. The convent, or rather fortress of the Templars resisted three days longer; but the great master was pierced with an arrow, and of 500 knights, only ten were left alive. The king of Jerusalem, the patriarch, and the great master of the hospital, effected their retreat to the shore; but the sea was rough, the vessels were insufficient, and great numbers of the fugitives were drowned before they could reach the isle of Cyprus. By the command of the Sultan, the churches and fortifications of the Latin cities were demolished; a motive of avarice or fear still opened the Holy Sepulchre to some devout and defenceless pilgrims; and a mournful and solitary silence prevailed along the coast which had so long resounded with the world's debate."

This extinction of the Latin sovereignty in Palestine took place in 1291, somewhat less than 200 years after the preaching of the first Crusade. In these two centuries lives beyond computation had been sacrificed, miseries beyond the power of

description endured, and crimes the most fearful committed, in the name of Christ and for the honour of the Gospel of the grace of God. But "these occurrences are not to be spoken of, patiently and seriously, as any operations of Christianity. From first to last, from conception to execution, they were abhorrent to it. They were a burlesque of its solemnity—an outrage to its amiableness—an insult upon its purity. They substituted sense for faith, and grossness for spirituality. And were they the Christians in whom we can delight, that conducted them? Theirs was a practical dereliction of the cross,—of His mild majesty, his lovely gentleness, his forgiving heart, who hung upon it! They should have sought any other emblem for their ensigns,—lion or eagle, sword or brand." *

* North British Review, No. I.

CHAPTER XIV.

Conclusion.

" But time speeds on, and though th' impostor's power
 Fiercely hath raged its dark and dreadful hour ;—
 Yet Hope, soft-smiling, lifts her scrapp form,
 And points to sun-bright days beyond the storm."

ROLLESTON.—*Oxford Prize Poem.*

THE foregoing sketches, though sketches only, may so far have answered their intended purpose as to introduce the reader to scenes and transactions which, in motive and conduct, stand apart from the common history of nations. It remains only to draw such reflections from them as they may properly supply.

The first inquiry may be—What advantages were gained by so lavish an expenditure of blood and treasure—so great an amount of human endurance? It is a legitimate inquiry; for though the Christian cannot penetrate into the mysteries of Divine Providence, and feels no desire rashly to ask of his Maker, Why should such things be? “Wherfore hast thou made all men in vain?”—yet it is his happiness to see, in the darkest phases of human history, that He that sitteth in the heavens, and upon the circle of the earth—that bringeth the princes to nothing—that maketh the judges of the earth as vanity—overrules all the inconsistencies and follies of man, out of evil educes good, making the wrath of man

to praise him, while the remainder of wrath he restrains.

The Crusades were commenced when Europe was sunk in the most profound ignorance and superstition; when international communication was almost unknown; when commerce, except in the instance of the free cities of Italy, was at the lowest ebb; when the feudal system was causing men to groan under the burden of atrocious tyranny, and threatening the existence of organised government; when woful poverty was the rule, and accumulated wealth the exception; and when, from one cause or other, every nation in Europe was a scene of outrage and disorder, misery and guilt.

It is not too much to say that this dreary state of things was meliorated by the indirect influence of the Crusades. "In their progress to the Holy Land the followers of the Cross marched through countries better cultivated and more civilised than their own.—It was not possible for the Crusaders to travel through so many countries, and to behold their various customs and institutions, without acquiring information and improvement. Their views enlarged; their prejudices wore off; new ideas crowded into their minds; and they must have been sensible, on many occasions, of the rusticity of their own manners, when compared with those of a more polished people. A close intercourse subsisted between the east and the west during two centuries; new armies were continually marching

from Europe to Asia, while former adventurers returned home and imported many of the customs to which they had been familiarised by a long residence abroad.”*

In the same proportion that these new scenes were opened to the wondering nations of Europe, commerce received an impulse which has never since been effectually retarded. “Most of the maritime towns of the west enriched themselves by supplying Europe with the productions of the east;”—“new marts were opened; new classes and communities, organised by trade, were eager to cement their juxtaposition by more intelligent and liberal ties; minds of new orders and resources began to waken; a new style of intercourse was introduced.”† The first budnings of this improvement were seen in connexion with the Crusades.

The relaxation of the bonds of feudalism was another collateral benefit attributable to the Crusades, and the consequent melioration of the condition of the people. Numberless petty, but grinding oppressors departed to the distant Palestine, whence they never returned to harass and destroy their degraded serfs. The simple circumstance of Crusaders of every class being released, by Papal dispensation, from all feudal bonds, during the time of their holy warfare, must have exercised no inconsiderable influence upon the great body of the serfish population of Europe; for who, having

* Robertson's Charles V.

† North British Review.

once tasted the sweetness of even a mitigated freedom, would willingly again become a slave?

By means of the Crusades wealth became more equally divided, or, at least, more beneficially diffused than it had heretofore been; for possessions were parted with to supply the expenses of pilgrimage and warfare, and new channels of gainful industry were opened to those who remained at home.

And then, the destructive internal commotions of Europe were, in a great measure, laid at rest. Having put his hand to the plough, the Crusader was forbidden, at his peril, to look back. Having adopted the badge of Christian soldiership, all other quarrels were supposed to become extinct. To a great extent this effect must have followed, had no such interdict been proclaimed. "Small and scattered states are generally alienated by jealousy, or overrun by hostility. A united cause alone can bind them. Sometimes this may be that of common danger; but such is selfish, and reconciles nothing. It is a mere truce—a turning of arms from each other against a foe who has come between—speedily, on his subjugation, to be pointed as they were before. This enterprise, however, in its first avowal and motive, was generously disinterested. Nations, fighting side by side for the records of redemption, found not time, capacity, nor appetite for intestine wars. A habit of forbearance would grow up among them. The recitation of their exploits, in a fellowship

of peril, would bind their hearts in love and peace.” *

Whether the Grecian capital, and the more remote kingdoms of Europe, were so immediately and imminently in danger of an irruption of Mahometan warriors from Lesser Asia, as the fears of Alexius predicted, may possibly be disputed. But there can be no question of the perfect readiness of the followers of the false prophet to carry out the aggressive precepts of their master; and it may be believed that eastern Europe held out inducements to their ambition and cupidity which would, ere long, have proved irresistible. The result of such an inundation, at the time of the first Crusade, might have been most terrific and deplorable. But the Crusades turned back the torrent, and, for two hundred years, so occupied the attention of the Saracens and Turks, in their own domains, as to preserve the professedly Christian world from the ultimate danger to which, otherwise, it might have been exposed.

What would have been the result, had the Crusades been attended with the fullest degree of success hoped for by their warmest supporters, it is vain to conjecture. He who is higher than the highest saw fit to say to the impetuous torrent of human weakness—“ Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further; and here shall thy proud waves be stayed.” Although in a way widely different from that desired by their own proud imaginations,

* North British Review.

every individual Crusader, from the coroneted leader to the meanest camp-follower—every individual Moslem, from the caliph to the slave—was working out the purposes of His will, who “spake; and it was done; who commanded, and it stood fast.”

But “let no man say, when he is tempted, I am tempted of God; for God cannot be tempted with evil, neither tempteth he any man.” While recognising, therefore, the overruling providence of God, in causing the events under consideration to work out his own gracious and wise purposes, we may proceed to a second inquiry—whether, on scriptural principles, the Crusades of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries can be justified?

It is impossible that they can. In the most favourable aspect under which they can be viewed, a capital, and a most fatal error will be detected. Let it be granted that motives of the most exalted heroism, without any base admixture of human infirmity, burned in the bosom of every Crusader; let it be granted, too, that the extortions, and cruelties, and unbelief, of the usurpers of Palestine called aloud for Divine interference,—where was the commission that authorised the sword of human vengeance to be drawn on behalf of the Ruler of the Universe? Was it to be found in the Old Testament Scriptures? *There*, indeed, was an example, of dread import, of what had been done by men, under the high warrant of Heaven, as ministers of God’s righteous indignation. But where was the

warrant that the Crusaders could show?—the express command that they could plead? There was none; there could be none; for the dispensation of wrath had passed away, to give place to the dispensation of mercy.

Did they seek their commission in the pages of the New Testament? They had the New Testament. Did they study the life of the Divine Redeemer? Did they seek, among the records of His commandments, for one intimation that the blood of unbelievers would be an acceptable ingredient in the cement which should bind together His own most holy church? When, with eager hands, the badge of soldiership, the emblem of the Saviour's death, was affixed to their garments, did the Crusaders really believe that the cross had need again to be saturated with blood, ere "the blood of the cross"—of the crucified one—could redeem a guilty world from wretchedness and woe? We know not. But this we know, that, subjected to the fiercest alembic of earth or hell—tortured by the most perverse and persevering ingenuity of man or devil—"the spirit that was in Christ" would still exclaim, "Father, forgive them; they know not what they do."

Did the Crusaders find their commission to destroy in dreams and revelations, which the wisest among them laughed to scorn? Or, leaving these things, did they seek to justify their course by an appeal to the recognised principles of justice between man and man?

"Who was it, then, that gave the Crusaders the title to the Holy Land? Who called them to deliver it? If a few solitaries, silentiaries, stylites, living in its hill country, from their caves and pillars pleaded this interposition, they were not the natives of the soil, but strangers in it. Did the Jew, the proper inhabitant, make intercession? He had the strongest reason to deprecate their aid. Merciless extortions and cruelties had he suffered at their hands when he rested among them, and in their progress thither. Or, if these were the seed of Christ, had he left the land to his followers, to be retained by them, as on some theocratic tenure, for ever? Had he not doomed it? Was it not, at his withering ban, laid waste? Under Adrian had it not well-nigh been again depopulated, more than sixty years after the fall of Jerusalem? The occupation of it by Cosroes, and subsequently by Omar, gives a settlement of nearly 500 years—which period, surely, establishes valid property in any country—which settlement no review of ancient considerations ought to be suffered to disturb. Were reprisals like these to be tolerated, the muniments of kingdoms might be constantly called in question, and peoples ejected might be seen wandering forth to seek their home."*

Was it, then, in behalf of enlightened and universal toleration that the sword of the Crusader was drawn? Did he go forth proclaiming to Mahometan, and to the world, that it should no longer

* *North British Review.*

be endured that man should persecute man for what pertained alone to man with God? Did he, carrying with him the olive-branch of peace, invite and entreat the haughty Moslem to lay down the oppressor's rod, to banish the foeman's frown, to live in amity with his brethren, the children of one common Father? Did he attempt to show, by the glorious example of Christian lands, how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity? Alas! no, he could not. Witness the INQUISITION, established between the fourth and fifth Crusades, by Innocent III., their patron. Witness the South of France.

"Provence is too much remembered as the land of lighter song; its Paulician faith and Albigensian constancy are [too much] forgotten. There sprang that early Protestantism which gave defiance to the Man of Sin,—that purer doctrine, which was even then to be assailed by torture and blasted by fire. Never went up from the earth such a cry of blood. Massacre and conflagration overspread the scene. A race—save the scanty fugitives who found shelter in the fastnesses of the Alps—a race of true believers, of exemplary Christians, covered with every adornment of politeness and literature, was thus ravaged from the earth. This was called a Crusade. But it was not against the infidel that the Church waged it, but against her own children!" *

Toleration! Why, compared with this, the Mahometans are entitled to high praise. They tol-

* North British Review.

rated—nay, for a consideration, they protected the helpless Christians of their soil.

Was it, then, in a missionary spirit that the Crusader invaded the borders of Islamism ? Did he see that thousands, millions, were perishing for want of the bread of life ; and, bracing his armour and girding his sword for self-defence, did he go forth to make known the salvation which is in Christ Jesus ? This would have been a deed of noble daring—though the armour and the sword had better have been dispensed with. But it was not so. We may search, but in vain, for one benevolent wish, one pious prayer, uttered by pope, prelate, preacher, leader or follower, crusader or pilgrim, for the salvation of one Mahometan soul. Such wishes may have been uttered, such prayers breathed, and such attempts made—and, surely, if they were, there was joy in the presence of the angels of God—but if such attempts were made, prayers breathed, and wishes uttered, the records of heaven alone took note of them. So far as the histories of men tell, the Mahometans were better missionaries by far than the crusading Christians.

"There was tumult, and there was din;
There was Satan, and there was sin;
There were groanings, and there were fears,
Orphans' sighs and widows' tears;
And there were cursing, and piercing cry,
And despair's last rending agony;
And there were vultures, and worse than they,
Hovering to gorge their human prey."

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"But was there found, in that brilliant day,
 The heart to feel, or the lip to pray?
 The accents of heaven or the look of love,
 The Prince of Peace, or the Holy Dove?
 "I say not what passes in secret souls,
 For dew-drops may fall while thunder rolls :
 But I saw them not in the haggard cheek,
 I heard them not in the dying shriek ;
 I marked them not in the frenzied eye ;
 They calmed not the shout of victory ;
 They were lost in the yell of the frantic breath,
 That pealed to the heavens for triumph or death :
 I traced them not in the battle's rush,
 The oath, and the groan, and the life-blood gush ;
 They flashed not bright in the weapon's gleam,
 Or there, where the tattered banners stream
 To rally the young, and the proud, and the brave,
 To the murderous charge that digs their grave.

"I judge not my neighbour's heart or lot ;
 They might be there,—but I saw them not.

"Men said that noble and great was the war ;
 That *Christian* virtue yoked his car ;
 And that nought was so generous and bright to see,
 As a *Crusader* fresh from his victory.
 I viewed e'en the solemn and sacred tomb,
 Embazoned with sword and battle-plume ;
 And in God's own temple, flaunting high,
 The captured banner and panoply ;
 And all did tell me how pure the flame
 Whence the strife, and the war, and the fightings came.

"Yet they came, says a wise and holy page,
 From lawless passions and guilty rage :
 And, in truth, when the field of blood I view,
 Methinks that such sacred word is true ;
 That the bad was there, and the good forgot ;—
 At least, if 'twere there, I saw it not."*

We turn from these Crusades to contemplate, for one brief moment, a scene far surpassing in interest the pomp and grandeur of chivalry, the glitter and the clang of arms.

Crusades have not yet passed from our earth ; the crusading spirit has not yet vanished. Watch

* Wilks.—The two words in italic are altered from "patriot" and "hero."

yonder small vessel—its sails spread to the breeze that is every hour, every minute, extending its distance from its native port. Its destination is—north, south, east, or west, it matters not which, for our purpose. It is a crusading ship. Mark the flag that floats from its top-mast ; it is the crusading banner. Watch the human forms, of either sex, who, leaning over the bulwarks of that bark, wave their last farewells to friends, home, and native land. These are the Crusaders of the nineteenth century.

"Strong in their great Redeemer's name,
They bear the cross—despise the shame,
And, like their Master here,
Wrestle with peril and distress,
Hunger and sword, and nakedness,
And ev'ry form of fear :
To feel His love their only joy,
To tell His love their best employ." *

A puny band they are ; but strong in the Lord, and in the power of His might, they go to conquer the rebellious—to bring into subjection the enemies of the cross. And shall they succeed ? See, already Ethiopia stretches out her hands unto God. "Princes shall come out of Egypt." Already the crescent wanes before the cross ; and the powers of Mahometanism tremble in their high places.

By what mighty influence—by whose strong arm—are these victories to be achieved ? "Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts."

By what weapons ?—"The weapons of our war-

* Montgomery.

fare are not carnal, but mighty, through God, to the pulling down of strongholds, casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ."

And when?—We know not; nor does it concern the Gospel Crusader to know how speedily his victories shall be completed—his armour laid aside. But this he knows—it is a knowledge that can never cease to animate every exertion, to brace every nerve, to heighten every rapture, to irradiate every gloom—he knows that the time is at hand when "the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea,"—that He who was "lifted up on the cross," shall speedily "draw all men unto him," for **THE MOUTH OF THE LORD HATH SPOKEN IT.**

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